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CLC backs UAW in fight posing shorter work week

01-02-1

by P. Kent

As we head into the New Year the U.S. auto barons, after squeezing ens of millions of dollars in hand-uts from the public treasury and ossing thousands of workers in their U.S. and in their Canadian branch lant operations into the ranks of the nemployed, have launched a new ssault against the dwindling num-er of autoworkers still on the pro-luction lines, and those hoping to et recalled.

Now a cabal of strategists for Ford, GM, Chrysler and American Motors are together trying to ham-ner their employees into accepting ot only a freeze but a hand-back— nto abjectly surrendering pay and ringe benefits that they themselves ad previously agreed to in the pro-ess of last contract negotiations. Having forced in an opening wedge t Chrysler, strenuously resisted by the Canadian UAW leadership, they have now succeeded in getting the supine compliance of the Executive Board of the United Autoworkers Union.

By a vote of 25 to 1 this "leader-ship" has agreed to approve of the Ford and GM councils' opening up their contracts before expiration in order to hand over concessions from their already hard-pressed mem-bers. The sole opposition vote was cast by Canadian UAW Director Robert White.

White sharply dissociated himself from the UAW leadership, warning that there are going to be more lay-offs, shutdowns and fewer jobs, re-gardless; that this action will only see union members being played off against one another in a demoraliz-ing low-ball contest for scarce jobs. He scored the international leader-ship for giving the corporations a sig-nal for attack. "The workers don't need a union to lead them in a march backwards," he said. In the name of the Canadian UAW Council he de-clared that there will be no bending of principles in Canada because we "are not prepared to put in practice a policy that says the workers who are scared enough to make big conces-sions will get the jobs that are left."

The executive council of the Cana-dian Labour Congress has underwrit-ten White's dissent and called upon all affiliates to not submit to such blackmail but to hold the line against concessions that would pare back existing wages or benefits.

But the heat is on—not just on the auto workers but on workers right across the country. In this brutal at-tempt to put the cost of the break-down of their much vaunted "free enterprise" capitalist system onto the backs of their employees the Auto bosses have been joined by Ot-tawa. If Finance Minister Mac-Eachen has been equivocal about other measures in his anti-inflation policies there is one proposal upon which he is standing firm and behind which he has been organizing his provincial counterparts. Just before Christmas he called together the pro-vincial finance ministers in Toronto to firm up resistance to any and all wage increases for government employees.

Andy Stewart, president of the 180,000-member Public Service Alliance, with half of the collective agreements covering its members in the federal sector expiring this year, has responded. "We'll to-tally disregard it," he said. John Fryer, president of the 230,000-member National Union of Pro-vincial Government Employees has vowed major confrontations will occur if the provinces try to hold wages down. We won't accept any kind of wage controls, informal or otherwise, he said.

These strong words were reflected in the angry mood of the 1,500 dele-gates to the Ontario Federation of Labour convention last month, fuelled by high interest rates, esca-lating inflation, and widening un-employment and plant closures. But this mood has to be sustained; and the continued deepening of the eco-nomic crisis has embedded in it the possibilities for the bosses to weaken it and dissipate it.

To cut back the possibilities of

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shorter work week

continued from page 1

gaps developing in labor's ranks, every union must know that in every resistance to give-backs and wage freezing it has real support, and par-ticularly should it resort to strike, of their brothers and sisters on the picket line. It must find expression in demands that can mobilize the in-creasing number of workers who have been laid off and the mounting number of youth who have been coming onto the labor market to find no jobs.

A key resolution adopted with high enthusiasm by the OFL delegates called on the unions to mobilize their forces to reduce the work week to 32 hours with no loss in pay. A cam-paign behind such a sliding scale of hours to guarantee everyone a right to work can transform labor's strug-gle from resistance to hand-backs and freezes into a crusade to trans-form society.

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EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

Complicit in repression

01-02-2a

Prime Minister Trudeau's cynical condemnation of the Solidarity movement in Poland for what he called its "excessive demands" contrasts sharply in appearance with the empty platitudes of sympathy emanating from most other sources of western capitalist thought including President Reagan. Pulling no punches, Trudeau laid the blame for Poland's crisis on the allegedly unreasonable demands of Solidarity—including workers self-management and equal access to the media—which were used by the regime to justify the imposition of martial law on December 12. Trudeau was thus interpreting the situation with the cosmopolitan sophistication he has shown in the past in reflecting the common interests of the world capitalist powers.

First and foremost, Trudeau condemned Solidarity because of what the movement stood and fought for—a Poland where the workers would run their own factories and be organized in representative bodies to run the entire economy and the state. Such a society would not only become a shining example to workers the world over of socialism and real democracy working together, but would upend the existing status quo in Europe. Trudeau doubtless expects that an "understanding" attitude to the Polish crisis from NATO's capitalist statesmen would yield an equally "understanding" response from the Warsaw Pact countries and the Soviet bureaucracy in cooling down the massive antiwar movement currently destablizing the political face of western Europe. Far from representing a break from Trudeau's traditional anticommunist positions, his newfound friendliness to the Polish regime represents, in substance, the same pro-status quo line reflected in Reagan's sanctimonious utterings, though bereft of their explicit anticommunism.

Trudeau's explanation of his position clearly shows that he sees Solidarity threatening the political understandings worked out between East and West over several decades of peaceful coexistence. He countered those who expected a stronger identification with Solidarity by taking us back to the wartime Yalta agreements, worked out by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. However, the **realpolitik** exhibited at these conferences scarcely merits support from a proponent of democracy. The Yalta agreements saw the world leaders divide Europe into postwar spheres of influence in total disregard of the workers' desires in Greece, Italy and France, politically dominated by Communist Parties beholden to Stalin's deals. The stabilization of capitalism in western Europe and Stalinist bureaucratic rule in the east was the result—and should continue to be so, according to Trudeau.

Forward rejects Trudeau's sanctification of the big power dictat used to drown the unfolding anti-Stalinist movement in blood. He does not speak for Canada's working people in his ready identification with a regime carrying out a policy of intimidation, arrest, and imprisonment of heroic workers' leaders. Such hypocritical drivel, representing the twists of logic inherent in defending the status quo at all costs, make the Canadian state complicit in the crimes of Poland's military dictators, murderous crimes against the most advanced workers in the world today.

Far from urging submission by workers to the deals worked out at → To p. 2

their expense, we firmly support all forms of resistance against the military rule. Our support for Solidarity is unconditional and firm, given its role in representing and defending the interests of virtually the entire working class of Poland. Solidarity's program, which projects socialist democracy through an economic plan determined and administered by workers' councils, heralds the transformation of the post-capitalist states in the world into socialist political democracies. We firmly identify with this program whose implementation would simultaneously mark an historic break from Stalinist bureaucratic rule and weaken the anti-socialist prejudices and acceptance of capitalism which such rule has encouraged in the west.

As distinct from the anti-socialist critics of Trudeau, **Forward** supports Solidarity because it represents a revolutionary struggle for socialist democracy. Far from seeking the restoration of capitalist rule, the dynamic of the Polish workers' struggles has been to overthrow the privileged social caste which exercises a monopoly of control over all political institutions and to replace them with institutions of popular control which would correspond to the collective ownership of the productive forces in these countries.

In our opinion the spirit of determination of the Polish people may well be seen in its full militancy again soon. The massive support for Solidarity cannot be dissipated by the shock tactics of General Jaruzelski, who has yet to build a sizable base of support in order to re-stabilize the state. The scope of the struggle, which has virtually swept the entire Polish nation into a profoundly politicizing experience for 16 months promises that the movement for socialist democracy will re-emerge with a clearer understanding of its role and a stronger determination to fulfil its historic destiny.

01-02-2b

NDP backs Solidarity

The following resolution wa. adopted unanimously by the delegates assembled at the ONDP provincial council on December 12 as word came through of the imposition of military rule on the people of Poland.

"The Provincial Council of the Ontario NDP condemns in the most severe terms possible the harsh repression by the Polish Communist Party against the Polish people and their free trade union federation **Solidarity**. We in the Ontario NDP wish to convey our strong support for the efforts of the working people of Poland in their struggle for political and economic democracy."

The following resolution was adopted by the September 17 meeting of the executive of York Centre NDP, and subsequently adopted by the executive of the Parkdale ONDP.

"Whereas workers' control and international solidarity are among the aims of **Solidarity** in Poland and the NDP, and whereas the concept of workers' self-management, class solidarity, and free trade unions are the aspirations of a true socialist democracy and whereas both **Solidarity** and the NDP struggle for the rights of workers to have a say in the press and other media

"Be it resolved that the executive of the York Centre ONDP state its unconditional support of the struggle of the Polish working class to achieve socialist democracy through workers' self-management, and further be it resolved that the executive of York Centre ONDP state its congratulations to the First Congress of Solidarity and enthusiastically endorse its decisions, namely: 1) the referendum of workers' democracy, 2) the appeal of **Solidarity** to other workers in the other so-called socialist states, 3) the equal access for all to the public media.

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01-02-3

Dowson case moves to Supreme Court

by Harry Paine

Ross Dowson's right to lay criminal charges against the RCMP is going for judgement before the Supreme Court of Canada. Back in April 1980 Dowson swore out charges against two top RCMP officers who directed the "thought control" Operation Checkmate against a wide range of persons and organizations of completely legitimate dissent. His efforts to get a hearing have been blocked at every level of the courts ever since. But now his case will go before the Supreme Court of Canada.

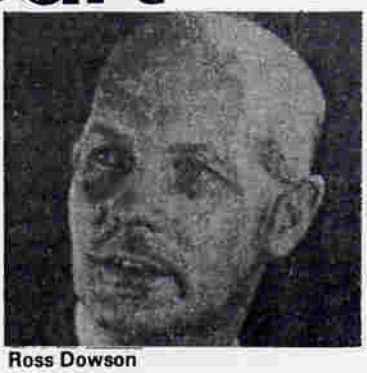
On December 18 the Supreme Court ruled that it would hear arguments on whether Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry can stop a citizen from initiating criminal prosecution. When McMurtry himself failed to lay charges and Dowson attempted to do so, he intervened to block Dowson, thereby violating this longstanding right.

The RCMP admission before the Krever Commission to the forgery and circulation of letters involving Dowson and associates was affirmed in evidence before the McDonald Commission. In the summer of 1980 the Canadian Civil Liberties Association gathered a petition signed by 15,000 people urging the federal government to prosecute RCMP officers revealed as having broken the law. The petition was presented to Solicitor-General Kaplan by a deputation composed of Pierre Berton, NDP leaders T. C. Douglas and the late David Lewis, and CCLA President Tarnopolsky. The CCLA also submitted a brief to McMurtry requesting that he withdraw his stay of proceedings in the Dowson suit and designated its counsel Ian Scott to support the Dowson appeal in the lower courts and before the Supreme Court.

The Dowson case was presented by Toronto civil rights lawyer Paul Copeland along with the parallel case of Henry Buchbinder who has attempted to lay charges against the RCMP for possession of goods stolen from the burned out Toronto offices of the Praxis Institute.

While the date has not yet been set the Supreme Court hearing will probably take place in late spring or early summer.

Commission headed by Judge McDonald [Center]



Ross Dowson

Court case needs funds

As we move from the lower courts into the highest court in the land, the Supreme Court of Canada, the need for additional funds to meet the escalating costs takes on a new urgency.

Statements of solidarity and contributions to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund have continued to come in from across the country. A monthly meeting of the Toronto Board of Education employees organized in Local 134 CUPE, addressed by Dowson, voted $50 to the fund. Following his address sponsored by the Carleton University New Democrats $40 was added to the fund. A sizeable honorarium for a meeting sponsored by two faculties at the University of Ottawa will be going into the fund.

Along with many individual contributions the mail brought $100 from the Syndicat des Professeurs de L'université Laval. Enclosing a $25 donation, Secretary-treasurer T. G. Chesterman, on behalf of the Kitimat-Terrace District Labour Council (CLC), wrote us: "This Labour Council wholeheartedly supports the view that all citizens of Canada, no matter what their political view must have the right of dissent and must have the right to adequate compensation when their rights have been abused by other segments of society, including the RCMP and our political leaders."

This continued support has been inspiring. That is why we are confident that the requirements of our new and more costly efforts will be met. Send your contribution now to Socialist Rights Defence Fund, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto.

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RCMP amasses files on 800,000 citizens

01-02-4a

by Ross Dowson

According to the McDonald Report, "the RCMP Security Services maintains a name index which in December 1977 had 1,300,000 entries representing 800,000 files on individuals." And it is not something that just inexorably grew up and out of control over the years. "Between 1972 and June 1977," two years after the Trudeau government imposed the War Measures Act right across Canada during an alleged "apprehended insurrection," and well into the seventies, some 501,000 new files were opened."

This massive system of Security Service dossiers on Canadians is in addition to the vast files that the Criminal Investigation section of the RCMP maintains in its central computer in Ottawa. As of November of this year this file is composed of more than 1.5 million sets of fingerprints and photographs of persons only charged with indictable offenses like theft or fraud under $200. Even if they are acquitted, as most are, the photos and prints continue to remain on the file unless the acquitted person makes a specific request that they be destroyed and the police agree to do so.

The massive files built and kept up-to-date by the RCMP Security Service are on persons thought by the RCMP to be actual or potential threats to what is called Canada's national security. The very process of building them, together with their

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Courts' balance sheet

Actions blocked against RCMP

With the admission by a junior RCMP officer, back in March 1976, that he had done worse things than bomb a Montreal residence, revelations of years of massive and blatant RCMP violations of civil rights commenced to unravel. Four civil suits were launched against the RCMP. Three of them were by provincial government commissions of inquiry. One was by longstanding Toronto socialist activist Ross Dowson. All four, after being blocked at lower levels of the courts, were appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

- The appeal by the Quebec Commission of Inquiry headed by Jean Keable was dismissed in 1978
- The appeal by the Alberta Commission of Inquiry headed by Judge Laycraft was dismissed in May 1981
- The appeal by the Ontario Commission of Enquiry headed by Justice Krever was dismissed in September 1981
- The appeal by Ross Dowson against lower court rulings that the slanderous utterances by Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry and statements by the RCMP were privileged, was dismissed in September 1981.

With that ruling the Supreme Court of Canada blocked all civil suits against the RCMP.

Judges to hear criminal charges

There are essentially two attempts being made to wage criminal suits against the RCMP. The Quebec attorney-general has laid charges against 17 RCMP officers. An appeal by the RCMP that all charges be quashed was rejected by Sessions Court Judge Rousseau and an agreement has now been reached whereby one RCMPer will go to trial as a test case, possibly in March.

The other involves attempts by private citizens to lay charges against the RCMP, following the failure of Ontario Attorney-general McMurtry to do so. One of the individuals is Howard Buchbinder of the defunct Praxis Institute whose offices were gutted under mysterious circumstances. The other is Ross Dowson who was instrumental in causing the RCMP to confess before the Krever Commission that they had forged and circulated letters in an attempt to destabilize the now defunct League for Socialist Action. This resulted in the revelation by the McDonald Commission of the RCMP's massive Operation Checkmate.

On December 18 the court agreed to hear the case sometime in the late spring.

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01-02-46

800,000 files amassed in RCMP Security witchhunt

from overleaf

scope, regardless of the use many have been subsequently put to, constitutes a massive invasion of the privacy of the individual. Not paranoia, even simple logic tells us that the RCMP Security Service considers every trade union activist, every political activist in the NDP, the Parti Québécois and certainly everyone known as a Marxist, Black and Native activist and even homosexuals, particularly in the Ottawa area, to be security risks.

The RCMP "Security Service has been known to open files on all Canadians who travelled to Soviet bloc countries" reads the report. In a plus or minus game for good behavior, the RCMP opened a file on one MP when he declined an invitation to a Soviet bloc embassy affair, and on another MP when he attended such an affair. It opened a file on another MP because an RCMP officer who interviewed him with reference to someone seeking a security clearance considered him "somewhat officious and abrupt," and on another because he supported "grass roots politics."

At one point the report summarizes "the kind of thinking reflected in these files shows both an anti-left bias in the judgement of members of the Security Service and a tendency towards the worst kind of 'guilt by association.'"

In its zeal the RCMP left nothing untouched. "We have some evidence," reads the report, "that from 1970 to 1976 while the Liberal Party of Quebec formed the government of that province, the Security Service collected intelligence about certain aspects of the activities of that government and at least one paid human source had access to sensitive information about that government's policies and its ministers."

Among the RCMP agents' objectives as defined in 1970 were "to determine the degree of influence that revolutionary and independence--influenced or controlled pressure groups (social, fraternal and political) have on the Quebec government." In 1973 the RCMP handler commented on a source's report that "at the lower level...there are a number of individuals who harbour separatist sympathies—and that the Quebec Liberal party had infiltrated the Parti Québécois at a very high level."

While the RCMP has all along acted as if Section 98 barring membership in the Communist Party had never been repealed, it was with the Cold War that Ottawa introduced the age of surveillance into Canada. The government escalated the hysteria whipped up around the Gouzenko spy scare to introduce a program of security screening in the federal Public Service, along with three other security screening projects—citizenship, certificate of identity (travel documents for non-citizens) and immigration. With the experience of the brutal deportation of Japanese Canadians from the West Coast behind it, the government ordered the working out of another "security" project—the preparation of lists of Canadians to be interned in the event of a national emergency.

These projects requred a mushroom growth of the RCMP. While providing no specific numbers the report notes: "By 1960 I Directorate's membership had tripled and doubled...in a little more than 20 years the RCMP's manpower specializing in security intelligence activities had increased more than fifty-fold."

This colossal expansion has been concentrated in the surveillance of "domestic" subversion—investigation of the enemy within. Of the three operational branches assigned to intelligence collection and countering responsibilities, "the third of these operational branches is concerned with domestic subversion and is roughly equivalent in size to the two counter-intelligence branches combined." The only major fluctuation in these arrangements was the rise and fall of G Operations branch between 1971 and 1976. Focussed in on " 'subversive activities' related to separatism in Quebec it was scrapped with the revelation of Operation Ham, Odd-Job, etc., in 1976."

The radicalization of the 60s and 70s automatically fell in the target area of the expanding surveillance operations of the RCMP. Having established the illegitimacy of Marxism and the comparatively small and isolated radical formations of the thirties, the RCMP readily encompassed the new radicalization in its target. But these movements were qualitatively different. They had a broad base and a mass appeal, establishing their right to take to the streets in demonstrations, to carry on a dialogue with the entire population.

The RCMP's surveillance and countering actions roused doubts and unease, even in circles that had heretofore genuflected before the RCMP, even including the ranks of the not-to-reason-why paramilitary RCMP itself. Where there had never been any before, concern began to be expresed as to whether there was a mandate: who would assume responsibility for the many actions obviously in violation of the law?

But it was not until March 27, 1975 that the government felt impelled to present and get Cabinet approval of guidelines for Security Service activities. The report notes that it was not until October 28, 1977 that the Solicitor General paraphrased the main terms of the directive to the Commons and that it was only published in its entirety by the Commission iself on July 31, 1978.

These guidelines met the immediate approval of RCMP Securities Director-General Dare, who in a letter to senior officers "emphasized that the guidelines were intentionally broad and were not intended to alter fundamentally the Security Services current activities. The Security Service," he wrote, "will continue to monitor traditional areas of interest —such as Communists, Trotskyists, separatists, bloc revolutionaries, native extremists...."

The McDonald report sees the definitions of subversive activity as even more ambiguous than before. "This change would appear to broaden security Services surveillance to cover activities involving the use of force, violence, or criminal means to change government policy as well as to change a government." The Canadian Labour Congress could be designated as subversive for its organization of the mass demonstrations against the wage freeze and mounting interest rates.

01-02-5a

McDonald probe indicts RCMP

by Ross Dowson

The RCMP, specifically its scandal-plagued Security Service, an integral part of that over 20,000 strong federal police force, is being dumped. That is the key recommendation of the report by the three-man Royal Commission of Inquiry struck off over four years ago under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice McDonald and released early this fall. And it has already been acted upon by the Trudeau cabinet before the report has even been placed before the House of Commons.

On the same day as it released the report the government announced what it signalled as the end of the military domination of the force with the appointment of a top Ottawa civil servant. Frederick Gibson, as the head of a new security service will carry out the separation of the Security Service from Criminal Investigation, which has indulged in many of the same criminalities, and construct a new civilian intelligence agency. It will be called the Security Intelligence Agency (SIA).

This is an ignominious end or transmutation of a force with its origins in the North-West Mounted Police organized as an armed force back in 1873 to crush the North-West Rebellions of 1869-70 and 1885, led by Louis Riel. It became notorious in the ranks of the labor and socialist movement and has been romanticized in the mass media as the most widely recognized symbol of Canada across the world.

When the McDonald Commission was struck off it did not appear to be headed in that direction—it was designed to pre-empt, to block the Keable Inquiry. In the Commission's own resume of how they come into existence they note that on June 27, 1977 four senior members of the RCMP Security Service prepared a memorandum that became the subject of discussion between Security Service Director-General Dare, RCMP Commissioner Nadon and the government's Solicitor-General and his deputy. This group expressed concern about the Keable Inquiry initiated by the Quebec Government which Ottawa was attempting to frustrate at every turn. They were worried that it would result in the laying of criminal charges that "would cause major damage to the credibility of the Security Service." Their memorandum expressed "the desirability of having an impartial (sic) tribunal that would see the Security Service in a more favourable light..." and urged "that if the RCMP took the initiative we could perhaps have some influence in drafting terms of reference which could limit the enquiry to the Security Service."

Restoring trust in RCMP

Following an outline of the memorandum, the commission report notes that "very shortly after Commissioner Nadon asked the Solicitor-General to have a commission of inquiry appointed under the Inquiries Act. The result was our appointment on July 6."

Surprisingly, instead of declaring as their aim the pursuit of truth no matter where it leads, this Royal Commission quite frankly admits that "the core element that has guided our procedural decisions" is "the restoration of public trust in a public institution which has fallen under suspicion." Nonetheless, and it could hardly be otherwise, in view of all the previous evidence of RCMP criminality that flooded out in a series of intermittent waves when a junior officer confessed that he had done far worse than bomb a Montreal house, the McDonald report has harsh words to say about the RCMP.

Referring to a number of incidents which are not discussed "because each of them discloses conduct on the part of members which may constitute a major service offence under the RCMP Act," the commission declares them to be "improper conduct" which "we consider form enough of a pattern to be considered 'institutionalized.'"

The commission also notes as "the common thread running through all these incidents" a "willingness on the part of members of the RCMP to deceive those outside the force who have some sort of constitutional authority or jurisdiction over them or their activities—federal ministers of the Crown responsible for the RCMP were misled—on other occasions relevant or significant information was intentionally withheld from Ministers—a similar approach was adopted with respect to a provincial minister—(and) in dealing with senior public servants," forming "a widespread attitude by the Force that it need not be responsible to civilian authority..."

Furthermore, the commission notes, in designating the targets of its operations, the RCMP proved indifferent to or unable to distinguish between what might possibly be considered subversion and what is completely legitimate dissent.

No new revelations in report

The Ontario Krever Commission's Report constituted a staggering exposure of massive violations of the confidentiality of sensitive information about the general public contained in the files of the Ontario Health Insurance Plan by the giant insurance corporations and eminent members of the legal and medical profession in their employ, by the burgeoning anti-labor private investigative agencies, and above all by the police, in particular the RCMP.

The Keable Commission, blocked by Ottawa, limited its investigations and report to six police operations. They included Operation Bricole—the break-in and gutting of the Montreal offices of the Agence Presse de Libération du Québec—Operation Ham—the break-in and theft of the membership list of the Parti Québécois by a combined three-level police operation, and a series of other illegalities involving police agents and provocateurs whose numbers were such that police Captain Giguerre could boast before Commissioner Duchaine "that in the year 1972 the (terrorist—ed.) FLQ was us."

During the four year interval between the McDonald Commission's formation and the release of its 1,784-page report, every allegation of RCMP illegalities was deflected to the McDonald Commission so that it presumably could deal with them in proper circumstances.

But the Commission's report contains no new revelations of substance aside from information that in the mid-70s the RCMP had an unpaid spy in the federal Liberal party and a paid informant checking

continued overleaf

McDonald probe

from overleaf

out "subversive" influences in the Quebec Liberal Party, along with information on the scope and flimsy grounds on which the Security Service amassed files on some 800,000 Canadians.

The Commission had already cleared away the infamy surrounding the revelations of the RCMP's Operation Checkmate by releasing, back in April 1980, four volumes of "edited" testimony that had been given to it in secret. Checkmate, a series of actions spanning a period from 1969 to December 1973 against a wide range of individuals, groups and political parties of completely legitimate dissent, designed to intimidate them, disrupt them and if possible to destroy them, appears in this (the official) report as one page—blank but for this note—"This chapter is not being published. See the Commissioners' note which follows the introduction to Part VI"—and again as a 7½ page Appendix 3 which deals only with "Destruction of Checkmate Files"—ending with the note "we consider that the conduct of Mr. Yaworski (RCMP Superintendent) and Mr. Draper (Deputy-Director General (Operations) was unacceptable."

It is a No Name report—largely scrubbed clean of the identity of the actual perpetrators and the victims of RCMP improprieties, wrongdoings and crimes. It even goes to such lengths as to scrub the name of the RCMP officer in charge of the illegal break-in and theft of all the contents of the Agence Presse Libre du Québec office in Montreal, who is noted to have entered a plea of not guilty to a minor charge of illegal entry and accordingly received an absolute discharge from an obliging judge, who had admitted to forging a call to armed insurrection in the name of the FLQ, and who was subsequently promoted in the RCMP from which he recently resigned to take a senior post in the Public Service Commission—Donald Cobb.

Adjust law to RCMP

The Keable Commission recommended to the Quebec attorney-general that charges be laid against almost a score of RCMP officers. The RCMP's lawyers are now frantically opposing Quebec's attempts to do so before the courts. Ontario Justice Krever appealed to the

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Supreme Court (unsuccessfully) to compel police who violated the security of health information to name their sources. But the McDonald Commission makes no recommendations that charges be laid. The commission has even been condemned (albeit hypocritically in part) by provincial attorneys-general such as Ontario's Roy McMurtry who alleges that it has not provided sufficient information from its investigation to allow them to proceed to lay charges under the Criminal Code within their jurisdiction.

While pronouncing in solemn tones that the RCMP must at all times conduct itself within the law, the Commission recommends that the law be adjusted to suit its purposes. It recommends that RCMP wrongdoings such as its decades-old violations of the sanctity of first class mail, its breaches of the confidentiality of tax returns and its committing surreptitious searches be allowed. These astonishing recommendations are made on the premise that once under legal authority they will no longer be committed with abandon but only with due and proper restraint. This has been seized upon by Solicitor-General Kaplan, a lawyer by profession, to counsel commission of crimes. He is not agitating for the renewal of writs of assistance to RCMP officers whereby, without permission of a judge or any higher authority, they can enter any premises, presumable involving drug cases, but which the McDonald Commission itself documents as having been abused for other purposes.

The commission's No Name report assures that persons who have been victims of RCMP crimes, for instance those who lost their jobs due to the RCMP informing their employers of their allegedly subversive views, will now never know the real reason so that they could even consider taking action through their union and/or the courts.

Thus we have a report, presented as the final and ultimate one on RCMP illegalities, that records crimes without naming those who committed them, that records crimes without naming the victims—crimes without punishment and crimes without retribution.

In this sense the McDonald Commission report can be correctly charged with being a cover-up of RCMP illegalities and government complicity. But it is more than that. It is a cover-up with an overriding and bigger purpose than simply not wanting to identify even more crimes and criminals.

Dump Security Service

The McDonald Commission was designed not to open the door to new scandals but to bring to a halt the entire process that has been destabilizing the Canadian capitalist state, that has so gravely damaged the RCMP in the public mind, causing a deep crisis in its ranks, already resulting in the suicide of a top officer, that has sacrificed the careers of one solicitor-general after another, humiliating provincial attorneys-general responsible for the enforcement of the Criminal Code, and badly compromised the integrity, not just of the Liberal party, but also the opposition parties. With increasing discomfort, they have still managed to adhere to what is an apparent tacit agreement to seek no "partisan" advantage from the humiliation of the nation's "sacred cow."

What better way out of the compromising situation that to seize the occasion to get rid of what the report calls the "old boy network," the military clique with its "parade ground discipline" which has arisen in the natural course of evolution from "a paramilitary organization with responsibility for frontier policing" into a security operation, which a former solicitor-general would testify operates "like a religious order."

As of January 1980, the report notes, only three officers above the rank of inspector were francophones. There are so few women in the Force that none could possibly reach a senior management position until well into the 1990s. By all counts it is completely unsuited to meet the challenges of 20th century security and intelligence work.

So it is to this task—the pushing aside of the RCMP Security Service and the structuring of the new Security Intelligence Agency—that the overwhelming bulk of the McDonald Commission's 1,784-page report addresses itself—summarized in some 285 concrete recommendations to serve as guideposts.

Those of them that may be adopted, to be acted upon and to be supervised by essentially the same persons, in the same state apparatus, to serve essentially the same purposes as before, are largely structural changes. They contain little at all even pointing in the direction of genuine popular or democratic control of the RCMP criminal intelligence operations or the new security intelligency agency.

Among the commission's recommendations is the retention, not the abrogation, of the War Measures Act—with one commissioner filing a dissenting report.

While testifying before the Commission on Operation Checkmate, RCMP Security Service Director-General John Starnes in no way even suggested that the targetted organizations and individuals were advocates of force as a means of governmental change, or agents of a foreign power threatening Canadian national security. He said they were declared to be subversive "for want of a better word...where it was clearly seen that the purpose of an organization or individuals were at cross purposes with the maintenance of domestic stability." Judge Krever in his summary comments on Checkmate Operation 13 declared the RCMP was practising "thought control."

The McDonald Commission would supply the Starneses with a better word—would structure thought control right into the new service's guidelines. It is "revolutionary subversion," defined as applicable to political parties and movements that "may not actually be involved in political violence" but whose "basic aim goes far beyond the influencing of a particular government policy to the eventual replacing of our system..."

While recommending that such groups and individuals "should not, simply by virtue of their beliefs be subject to intrusive investigations by the security intelligence agency," they should be denied security clearance, denied admission into Canada and denied (with one commissioner dissenting) Canadian citizenship. Thus the Commission recommends that "thought control" be structured right into the guidelines of the new agency.

The McDonald Commission report has yet to come before the House of Commons.

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What they are saying about

"Dowson v. RCMP"

"...with the release of the McDonald Commission report on the RCMP 'dirty tricks' Dowson's case has suddenly become a **cause celebre**. As the only action in progress against the RCMP's own subversion of civil rights it has become the focal point of protest." **A.McColl, editor of** The Peak,S.F.U.

"I haven't heard such enlightening discussion of Marxism for perhaps twenty-five, thirty years." —**Justice Krever on Dowson's testimony before his commission.**

"I read it with considerable interest and appreciation. It makes a needed contribution—I say this without agreeing with your basic political platform." **John Sawatsky, author of** Men In The Shadows (Doubleday $15)

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01-02-6

Canadian union autonomy issue heats up in BC

by Paul Kane

The BC Labour Relations Board has declared that the small Canadian Association of Industrial Mechanical and Allied Workers (CAIMAW) has filed membership cards for the majority of the 4,851 workers at Cominco Limited mining and smelting operations in Trail and Kimberley. If the cards are ruled to be valid, despite an almost certain challenge by the giant United Steelworkers of America, a struggle for certification will be joined this spring.

The rise of Canadian national unionism over the past decade has resulted in the membership of the so-called internationals becoming for the first time a minority in the Canadian Labour Congress. It has also resulted in continuing mounting pressure for Canadian trade union autonomy that have forced their U.S. office holders into conceding varying measures of autonomy to their Canadian affiliates.

But this process of reform from within has been too slow and on an altogether too piecemeal basis, depriving the concessions of any real perspective of opening the unions to genuine democratic rank-and-file control, in the opinion of some militants. A growing number of them has been looking to forces outside the CLC and actually becoming members of the Confederation of Canadian Unions to which CAIMAW is affiliated.

CAIMAW already has a small but important base in BC in its own 5,500 members and in its sister union, the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW). The latter got underway when Alcan workers in Kitimat switched over from the Steelworkers in 1972. Steel faces a very unstable situation in Cominco—the site of a long wearing struggle against Mine Mill, until the latter union fused with Steel, and again in 1973 when CAIMAW missed out on certification on legal technicalities. The last contract was accepted by a narrow vote of only 50.8% and then only with the support of the office staff. The Steel leadership, and not only Len Stevens in the West, has been losing credibility. Stewart Cooke, its Eastern leader, was routed out of office this spring by Sudbury local president Dave Patterson, but no before he and his staff managed to compromise Hamilton Local 1005's struggle with Stelco by settling Stelco's finishing plants and approving a weak Algoma settlement.

Steel will wage a no-holds-barred battle against CAIMAW because the loss of Cominco would cut its BC membership in half and would further jeopardize hopes that former Canadian leader Lynn Williams, now international secretary treasurer, may have for the Steelworkers presidency. With the addition of the Cominco workers to its ranks, not only CAIMAW, but the Confederation of Canadian Unions would get a powerful boost forward.

For some months now Local 1 CASAW, representing the Alcan workers in Kitimat has been studying the possibility of merger with the Fédération des Syndicats du Secteur Aluminum, representing about 6,000 Alcan employees in Quebec. The CCU has also been making some headway among rail workers who are widely discontented with their ossified U.S. leadership. Early last year CN and CP rail traffic controllers broke from their internationals to form the Rail Canada Traffic Controllers. The union representing the majority of the BC Rail Workers who have just signed a break-through contract is the CCU affiliate, the Canadian Union of Transportation Employees (CUTE).

CUTE is helping promote a Shop-craft Organizing Committee (SOC) which from its Vancouver base has initiated a campaign to replace the eight existing 21,000-member U.S.-based shop-craft unions with a single militant Canadian organization. The CN bosses' recent decision to end a 60-year tradition of signing a common contract with CP for all shop-craft employees has shaken up the U.S.-based bureaucrats and forced their Canadian mouthpieces to talk in heretofore unheard of militancy and in terms of Canadian autonomy. A resolution passed unanimously at the CN Joint Protective Board mini-convention in Ottawa last August called for ending affiliation with the U.S. office-dominated union "through negotiations if possible and if this is not possible then by unilateral action."

However when Mimico Lodge No. 110 CN Carmen decided to implement that decision by ceasing to pay dues they were threatened with trusteeship. Top officers of the American Carmen's Union told three Canadian officers that they had no intention of negotiating any of the changes that the Canadian convention delegates had demanded. With the stall of negotiations which commenced last October the Canadian Council, under the pressure of rank and filers, including the Shop-craft Organizing Committee, is asking Ottawa to appoint a conciliator, the first legal step toward any eventual strike action.

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A-02-7

Ont. NDP crisis debated in 'The Next Four Years.'

by P. Kent

When **The Next Four Years—a discussion paper** was issued by the Ontario NDP provincial office it looked like the party was being opened up for a serious discussion on policy. The document described the March election as a "setback marking the end of a decade of drift that helped produce it," and noted, "It is difficult to discern any consistent political strategy governing the party's actions in the last ten years. The result is a party which feels lost, unsure of itself, in need of direction."

As Left Caucus supporters pointed out in the widely circulated **Ides of March** statement, tens of thousands could discern no difference between us and the two capitalist parties, and thousands who had always been consistent NDP voters didn't think that it was even worthwhile to go to the ballot box, let alone work for an NDP election.

That is not a provincial, but a national political problem as the May 14 BC Kamloops by-election showed. The Socred government was certain to drop thousands of votes, and the party's strategy of a high profile campaign that would say nothing to alienate anyone, was supposed to slip us into the seat. Socred dropped 5,000 votes alright, but 2,000 former NDP voters didn't bother to show up either.

Alas, at the last provincial council meeting the document was withdrawn—apparently the direction of the discussion, insofar as there was one down in the party ranks, wasn't what the leadership sought. Nonetheless it had a good impact on the Left Caucus proving its value to the future of the party. It provoked a flood of contributions that went out in its mailing and hopefully raised the level of those ridings where there are already Left Caucus supporters and there was some discussion.

Among the major contributions was one by Marv Gandall of Carleton East. He characterizes various exhortations that appear in **The Next Four Years**, that the party must get "back to an emphasis on class-based positions," and create "a people-oriented platform which exudes excitement and the perception of a possible victory," as pleasant rhetoric, but nonetheless just rhetoric as "there are no concrete proposals for change in that direction."

In this absence, what is conceded as a crisis in the party is "reduced to a crisis of its public relations." Gandall demolishes the idea that the problem is primarily that of a new leader, and one preferably with charisma and more fund-raising appeal, by simply pointing out that we had all that with Stephen Lewis, but that it was under him, after a brief period as the opposition, that the party reverted back to third party status.

Gandall insists that the party does have a consistent direction and strategy—"towards...the political center and that in order to appeal to these elements the party must be increasingly cautious and restrained." "In general," he notes, "the party leadership has shied away from the anti-capitalist aspects of our program. It has preferred to focus instead on those areas where the differences between the three parties as important as they are, are generally ones of degree rather than principle—that is to say, when changes are designed to cushion the harsher effects of capitalism without threatening the basic structure of private property and privilege in the province."

While questioning the assumption that these groups are inherently conservative, Gandall challenges that "above all our present strategy should be examined in relation to its effects on the party's natural constituency, trade unionists, students, women and other progressive groups." He summarizes that the party's paper must "propose a new direction based on deepening our roots in the unions and social movements; strengthen the labour character of the party; mobilize the ranks in defence of popular causes; and take the offensive against corporations and their system."

At least four documents came out of the in-depth discussions in the Dovercourt NDP, including: A Critique of the Next Four Years Document by the Dovercourt NDP, A Socialist Response to the Next Four Years by Marchese & Ritch, and The Next Four Years, a beginning for a Socialist Success by Sutherland.

One submitted by Kutz, Roberts & Glasbeek, on the basis of discussions in St. Andrews-St. Patrick NDP, has many of the elements of a counter document as it does outline concrete proposals for change—calling on the party to go Left.

"Our commitment to Socialism," it notes, "is at one with the needs of the people of Ontario. Yet most of them do not know of the alternative we are fighting for unless they read our convention booklets." "We can win people's trust and commitment only if we earn their respect by fighting alongside them before and after elections, and by politicising their immediate concerns."

It calls upon the party to "become a party of strong words and stronger deeds"—to become "a party of action." It calls for area councils to "promote party-based municipal politics as a priority" and urges that local area councils and labor councils should establish liaison committees to co-ordinate party mobilizations in support of strikers and other joint union-party goals.

It calls for an end to relying "on our opponents, the capitalists who control the media, to relay our message to the people." It urges "turning **The New Democrat** from a quasi-quarterly tabloid of a mutual admiration society into a lively informative monthly," for "regular public forums dealing with important issues from an NDP perspective," and "establishing an open atmosphere for discussion and debate in the party."

"Not administrative reorganization," it sums up, but "what we need is a new direction that sets a course for our party as a social movement actively involved with unions and with the community."

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01-02-8

Oh Canada

While Finance Minister MacEachean is being roasted in the Commons, as he backs up and covers over his budget handouts to the rich, another retreat by the Trudeau government is slipping by relatively unnoticed. Ottawa's National Energy Program, with the catapulting of Petro-Canada Ltd. into the largest oil firm in the country, heralded as only an opening move in a drive to establish Canadian ownership in key sectors of the economy, with the implication that it will trickle down into the hands of the working people, is being quietly dropped by the wayside.

When the continentalist Liberal party picked up the mantle of nationalism which it had heretofore rejected in all its forms, along with Walter Gordon, Eric Kierans and other, it rekindled the hopes of its former suitors and roused the passions of some who had previously rejected its blandishments as merely electoralist adaptation to this deeprooted sentiment in the population. Last August the Committee for an Independent Canada, after having served to divert anti-U.S. imperialist sentiments away from the NDP into renewed efforts to reform the Liberal party, was quietly dissolved. This month, its Big Three, Walter Gordon, Peter Newman and Abraham Rotstein, returned to the site of its launching to drink a toast to its demise—satisfied that its purpose and goals had been taken up by others—namely the Big Business Liberal party. Alas, the satisfaction of the erstwhile Committee for an Independent Canada appears to be shortlived.

It wasn't long before a gang which ranged from the staid **Foreign Affairs** quarterly, the authoritative **Wall Street Journal** and **New York Times**, all the way to the editor of **TV Guide**, mounted a furious assault on the Trudeau government and its National Energy Program. Before a special congressional hearing on U.S.-Canada relations the modest and tentative actions of the Trudeauc government were blasted as being rooted in a different philosophy. The dispute, according to Robert Cornell, Deputy assistant Treasury Secretary, finds the U.S. believing in the free market and Canada in government intervention to promote social goals. "Nationalism," he added, "which translates into increased Canadian control of the economy is a central theme of the Canadian government's economic program." Assistant Commerce Secretary Raymond Waldman told the hearing that he was not optimistic about persuading Ottawa to yield on policies that are restrictive, discriminatory and perhaps confiscatory."

The Canadian Chamber of Commerce, in the face of these blasts of protest and threats of blackmail, chastised Ottawa for jeopardizing Canada's "credibility and integrity in foreign investment and international cooperation." The retiring chairman of the Ontario Economic Council scored Ottawa for "butchering our relations with the U.S." "Ours is a small open and dependent economy," he said, "tied to one mighty trading partner. In a world caught up in dislocation, in the throes of rapid change, that tie can either be a significant plus or a devastating minus." He suggested that Canada take Finland's relationship with the USSR as a precedent.

The Tories scurried to blame the Liberals—in Ottawa John Crosbie charging the government with fighting our friends with its "anti private sector, anti foreign investor mentality," and in Ontario Premier Davis, while keeping a finger in the act by buying up 25% of Suncor, pledging himself before U.S. business executives to press Ottawa to "discourage some of the rigidities" in its approach.

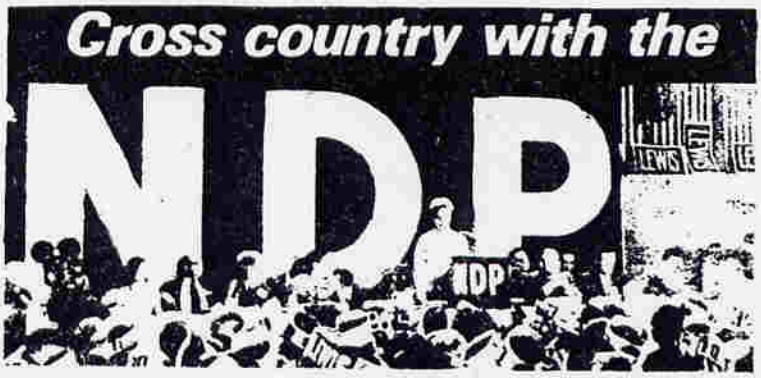
The retiring Canadian ambassador to Washington, Peter Towe, pleaded for tolerance on the grounds of Canada's long record of favors to the U.S., its refraining from criticising the impact of Reagan's high interest rates on the Canadian economy, and after all it is only pursuing its legitimate national interests.

Rotstein, in the name of the new Canadian Institute for Economic Policy—a sort of Committee for an Independent Canada but without its membership—has urged Ottawa to stand its ground and not worry about U.S. retaliation: "the re-establishment of amicable Canadian-American relations cannot be grounded on the assumption that Canada assume the role of an economic paraplegic." He urged the government to ignore the "nervous nellies of Bay Street."

With the November 12 budget which dropped plans for toughening the Foreign Investment Review Agency, NDP industry critic, Ian Deans, declared that the message is Canadians will remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. He scored Trudeau and Gray with having "caved in to pressure from Big Business in America." "Canadians have been sold out by phonev Liberal nationalism, he said. Shortly after, the NDP federal office announced the appointment of Jim Laxer as the party's research director. Laxer was a leader of the party's left wing Waffle tendency in the seventies which raised the banner for an Independent and Socialist Canada.

In his opening speech to the Ontatio Federation of Labour convention, President Cliff Pilkey called for an end to the Imperial Oils, the Texacos and the Gulfs and for bringing the entire petroleum industry under public ownership. There is disenchantment with the status quo and a yearning "for some clear-cut alternative to the present drift and decline."

Canadians must seriously consider whether reform of the economic system is either possible or desirable. The capitalist system has failed Canada, he said. "Are workers to be required to prop it up until we are crushed by its dead weight?" he asked.



01-02-9a

"Agenda" joins discussion

Why has the Great Expectation of the Regina Manifesto of 1933, which proclaimed that the CCF would not rest content until it eradicated capitalism, and then the 1961 expectation that with the full involvement of the trade union movement we would see the establishment of an NDP government in Ottawa, remain unfulfilled, asks a small network of people based in Ottawa who "haven't given up on socialism or on the NDP."

"We've waited and waited for the party to create some way for us to talk together about these things—but it just isn't happening. So we thought we'd try this."

That is the introduction to an attractive bulletin called **Agenda**. The fourth issue, dated November 1981, has now come out. And it is striking a widening response right across the country.

Number 4 gives extended and favorable coverage to the Ontario Left Caucus September 26-27 conference, and contains a number of capsule comments on events across the NDP of particular interest to socialists. Number 3 features two articles on the election of the Socialist Party of France into office, a significant development even though Mitterand in the face of widespread opposition is supporting Washington's nuclear armament of Europe. Joe Levitt welcomes **Agenda** as a means for policy discussion, seeing the constituency associations as cogs in an electoral machine unable to provide such opportunities.

Issue No. 2's concentration on the federal convention reflects the announced policy of **Agenda** that it has no "official line" but is open to all points of view including those that already have lots of avenues of expression. Simon Rosenblum's contribution on the economic policy discussion, where he calls on the party to "openly acknowledge the failures of mere reformism, both at home and abroad" and Wayne Roberts' contribution on the failure of the convention to rise above the level of the federal parliamentary debate on the constitution, are welcome additions.

The editors of **Forward** greet **Agenda** as an additional stimulant to their own efforts to open up the NDP to the consideration of a class struggle program with a socialist perspective. Send in $10 and you will receive 12 issues of **Agenda** from Box 2132, Station D, Ottawa, K1P 5W3.

Alta. protest

The summer issue of the **Alberta New Democrat** reproduced a resolution passed by the annual general meeting of the Woodsworth-Irvine Socialist Fellowship. It was delayed because the regular W-ISF Nutcracker pages did not appear in the previous issue.

The resolution in contention, urging that the Alberta NDP convention advocate that "the entire Canadian energy industry be nationalized," was reproduced along with the following W-ISF resolution moved by Gordon Wright, seconded by Nellie Peterson, and carried unanimously.

"That the W-ISF condemn the blatant maneuvering of the management of the 1981 Convention of the Alberta NDP in stifling the W-ISF oil and gas public ownership resolution and in particular for: (a) not circulating the resolution for constituencies in advance, contrary to the constitution; (b) not permitting the reading of the resolution when called on by the Energy Committee; (c) not permitting the moving of the resolution by its proponents, contrary to the rules; (d) not recognizing speakers at the microphones in order of time, contrary to the rules; (e) not permitting fair debate on the motion to refer.

"And in general for arranging for the stifling of debate on this resolution."

Defections

In the face of the frank admissions contained in the Ontario NDP leadership-inspired **Next Four Years** document that the party is in crisis, it is indeed ironical that six persons until now prominently associated with the Left Caucus have just publicly dissociated themselves from it. Among them are Dan Heap, Jim Turk and Kay Macpherson.

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Pushing aside their petty smears, questioning the alleged tendencies and the integrity of their former associates, we find the defectors have gone so far as to bait, to raise a scare against the Left Caucus with innuendos that it is taking the route of the Waffle, a previous left wing formation which the leadership charged with being a party within the party and brutally expelled.

Leadership is not the issue, they say. "Abstract policy debates or organizational necessities of a structured Left Caucus" are diversions from the "real work of grass roots organizing..." So the six tell the Left Caucus to shut up and to blindly get on with the Joe & Jean job of building the party, even though the policies of the leadership make it increasingly difficult to do just that, and are largely determining the very kind of party that is being built.

In response, some 45 leading NDP activists across Ontario have put their signatures to a statement **Time to Get Serious**. The first test will be the Left Caucus conference of January 16 with a preliminary public forum on the fight against the war danger.

Ont. leadership

If there were doubts before as to who to support for the leadership of the Ontario New Democratic Party on the basis of their parliamentary records and their extemporaneous responses to questions at meet-the-candidates rallies being held by NDP riding associations, there are in our opinion no serious ones now. This is clear if only from the considered responses that Richard Johnston, Jim Foulds and Bob Rae made in reply to questions posed by the editors of the Ontario **New Democrat** in their November issue.

In this election contest there is a choice that socialists can make between the three declared candidates. In the previous leadership contest **Forward** took a position of abstention, reluctantly, because we could discern no difference either in the programmatic positions favored by the contestants nor in their dynamic possibilities. But in this election, which finds Foulds unable to stake out any space as his own, it is clear that Rae if elected would continue the liberal-reform policies of the federal leadership that have so compromised the party on the constitution, on NATO, and Big Business ownership and control of the banking institutions of the country. Richard Johnston, on the other hand, takes a stance that would keep the party open to change in the direction of adopting class struggle policies which, it is becoming increasingly apparent, are necessary if the party is to fulfill the promises it bears for the working people of Canada.

We stand with the forces in the party who are looking forward to Richard Johnston becoming the leading spokesperson for the party that must become the voice and the active leadership of the struggle for a socialist Canada.

by the Editors

01-02-96

How Tory Globe & Mail sees NDP-Liberal alliance

Forward (47) Jan.-Feb. 1982

Forward special issue won enthusiastic response

The decision of **Forward**'s editors to publish the complete text of the draft program of Solidarity was warmly received. The document had been prepared for circulation and discussion amongst the 10 million members of Poland's independent trade union movement and the working people of all Poland for the first national congress which was actually underway as this English version was coming off the press in Toronto.

It took up the entirety of 7 of the 8 pages of our September issue, compelling us to dump planned material on the consitutional debate, important discussions within the NDP, information on the ongoing struggle in Latin America, etc. Having taken that radical decision we decided to go all the way for what we consider to be the most significant event in recent times—the opening up in Poland of the struggle for socialist renewal—the politcal revolution in the post-capitalist states of Eastern Europe and the USSR. We loosened the screws on our treasury so we could give the go-ahead to the printer to run off 11,000 copies and geared our slim forces to get it out as rapidly as possible.

All our subscribers with whom we have better contact were pleased with our decision and the work we did to present a weighty document in an inviting way with photographs and subheads that emphasized key concepts of this struggle for workers' control and socialist democracy. Several persons who had earlier promised contributions to our fund drive were alerted into acting, as were others who had been procrastinating over renewing their subscriptions.

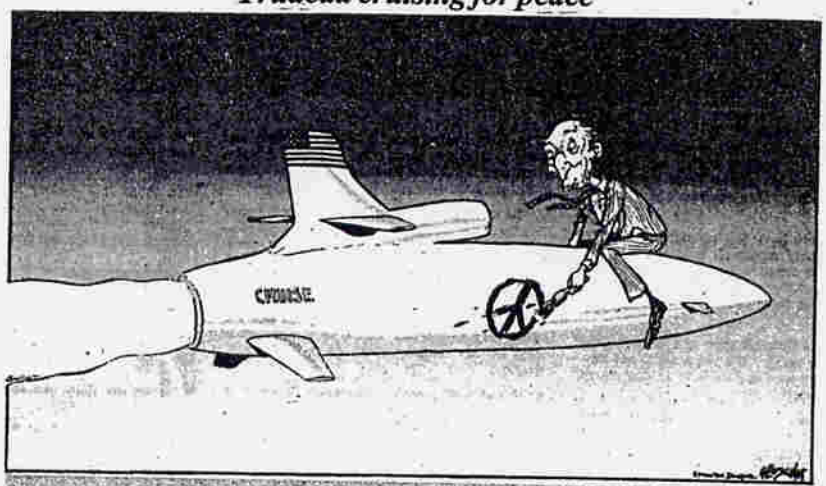
Best of all was the reception that our distributors received. We did extensive door to door distributions in a Toronto area where Polish-Canadians are heavily concentrated. Many of the older generation, having fallen prey to reactionary ideas, are no doubt re-thinking, and many of the new generation want to know what the Polish workers want—from their own words. Our distributors were often asked for extra copies for friends.

Then we covered a whole series of events: the Toronto film festival which has become an event of some international attention featured the showing of Wajda's film **Man of Iron** in a highly publicised gala affair at one of the city's largest theatres; the assembly of cross-Southern Ontario student militants in U of T's Convocation Hall following their massive demonstration against educational cutbacks; the audiences who assembled over the week-long seminars on cultural freedom, under the auspices of Amnesty International; and those who attended the first simultaneous three-theatre commercial showing of **Man of Iron**. While we distributed **Forward** free, so nothing would stand in the way of people getting it, scores gave us one, two and even a few five dollar bills and often expressed surprise and pleasure at receiving the programmatic statement of Solidarity. We have only a handful of copies left here at Box 778, Adelaide Street Post Office, Toronto M5C 2K1.

01-02-10

Defuse nuclear war threat
Out of NATO and NORAD!

Trudeau cruising for peace



forward
FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM
Vol. 8, No. 2 (48) ISBN 0700-9038 Summer 1982 Toronto 25 cents

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Page 1

Peoples of the world demand action now!

by Harry Kopyto

A powerful wave of anti-war sentiment is sweeping the planet, bringing hundreds of thousands of marchers into the streets of the world's capitals in protest against the continued escalation of the arms race and the fearsome threat of nuclear annihilation.

The key element behind the growth of anti-war activity has been the bellicose policies of the U.S. government headed by President Ronald Reagan — in particular, its decision to proceed with a quantative leap in the nuclear arming of the NATO forces in Europe, recent policy statements of the U.S. government indicating that it is now thinking in terms of the practicability of a "limited nuclear war", which supposedly could be contained in Europe, and the continued escalation of American involvement in Latin America, especially U.S. support for the fascist regime in El Salvador.

While the anti-war sentiment has largely been directed against the unprecedented arms build-up started in 1978 by the U.S. government, certain actions of the Soviet Union, such as its military intervention in Afghanistan and the threat of one in Poland, have also clearly contributed to the growth of mass pacifist feeling within the United States.

Capitalism contains war like a cloud contains rain. The war drive not only helps establish military hegemony throughout the world to make foreign markets safe for capitalist investments but it also has been used to prop up ailing capitalist economies. For the post-capitalist states such as the Soviet Union, keeping up with U.S. war spending has drained their treasuries, denied consumer products to their populations and distorted their social priorities.

There is no question that the anti-war sentiment is unprecedented in scope in recent times. Not only has the movement developed semi-spontaneously in the capitalist world but it has also swept into Eastern Europe giving rise to anti-war demonstrations in such countries as Romania and East Germany. In the capitalist countries, it has drawn into its ranks such unlikely anti-war advocates as Admiral Hyman Rickover (the father of the U.S. nuclear navy) as well as major church organizations and large numbers of scientists, academics and politicians who have come to understand that nuclear war means destruction to all. In fact, significant voices of the American establishment itself have joined the movement.

The sudden growth of the anti-war movement in the last few months stems from developments in Europe in response to the decision of the United States to place almost 600 Cruise and Pershing missiles in Britain, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy. For European anti-war activists, the spectre of the neutron bomb and the Cruise missile has made real the fear that western Europe would be the theatre for nuclear war.

Most people in Canada, according to public surveys, believe nuclear war is inevitable. An important element of the American establishment has clearly lost confidence in the ability of President Reagan to avoid a nuclear war. The dynamics of both Soviet and U.S. policies on developing capacities to destroy each other's offensive military targets, raises the possibility of a pre-emptive nuclear strike.

There is no question that the anti-war movement objectively weakens the ability of the United States and its capitalist allies to implement militaristic policies. However, the movement lacks a clear focus on concrete proposals for peace — particularly in North America.

This can be seen in Canada as well where establishment figures like Walter Gordon (former minister of finance), Roland Michener (ex-governor-general), Paul Martin (ex-

continued on page 2

Build the NDP as the Canadian antiwar party

continued from page 1

cabinet minister), Labour Minister Charles Caccia, U.S. Ambassador Gerrard Pelletier have been attending disarmament conferences and hailed as "peace movement" figures by the media, especially the **Toronto Star** which has firmly ensconced itself as a proponent of the nuclear disarmament movement.

While these Liberal politicians present themselves as moral crusaders for disarmament and peace, they and their political associates have been instrumental in promoting the integration of Canada into U.S. war plans through NATO and NORAD. In particular, the Liberal government has given the green light to Cruise missile tests in Alberta, has adamantly refused any moves to declare Canada a nuclear-weapon-free zone, while continuing its diplomatic efforts to cover up U.S. war preparations. These policies have meant a massive increase in inflationary war spending while ensuring that Canadian air space will be the battleground in any future nuclear confrontation.

While the broadest unity is desirable in the anti-war movement and while groups such as Project Ploughshares, affiliated with the Canadian Council of Churches, have clearly played a significant role in anti-war actions to date, the movement presently tends to pose peace and war as primarily a moral and religious issue. Some activists in the movement identify nuclear technology itself as the main "threat" to the survival of humanity; others frequently limit their utterings to pious affirmations of the spiritual importance of life. As a result, the movement, though still at an early stage of growth, risks the real possibility of becoming diverted into acts of personal witness in favor of peace.

In the absence of concrete propositions or demands that confront the actual pro-war policies of the Canadian government, there is a danger that the anti-war movement will permit hyprocrites like Trudeau to continue their demagogy about "smothering" the arms race while continuing in fact to gear into U.S. militaristic policies and consolidate Canada's commitment to NATO and NORAD. In the absence of militant actions directed against specific government policies, the anti-war movement is in danger of being diverted by the phoney capitalist "peace" spokesmen. Programmatic ambiguity can dissipate the movement by taking the focus off what should be its central demands: withdrawal from NATO and NORAD; declaring Canada a nuclear-weapon-free zone and opposing the testing of Cruise missiles in Alberta.

The New Democratic Party stands for all of these demands. The membership of the party has repeatedly insisted that it stand by such a program at convention after convention. More importantly, the NDP also poses the key to the solution of war and peace — the establishment of workers' power. Only a workers' government could be expected to undertake a meaningful initiative for peace, such as a unilateral declaration in favor of disarmament with a clear policy of removing all weapons from Canadian soil and eliminating all future military expenditures. Such a stance would not only have a tremendously valuable impact on preserving social services and undercutting inflation but would also inherently acknowledge the fact that the real threat to Canadian sovereignty is the U.S. that has encompassed Canada under its nuclear umbrella.

The struggle for peace is political, and the key task in Canada for anti-war activists is to build the NDP as the anti-war party and advance its realistic program for stopping Canada's support for the war drive.

06-08-1b

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The war that nobody thought could happen

06-08-2a

by P. Kent

The war over the Falklands-Malvinas, a war that no one thought would ever happen — neither Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the British General Staff — nor President and General Galtieri and the Argentine Junta — is now coming to a close. But the crisis continues and may end up destroying the leading protagonists on both sides. Already one, Galtieri, is down, with more to go.

The Argentine junta has been facing deepening difficulties. Inflation is running at 140% and unemployment is in the region of 40%. Along with the arrival of spring came the largest protests since the armed forces seized power in 1976. To the persistent every Thursday procession in front of the presidential palace by the mothers of the "desiparecideos" (disappeared) are being added a mounting number of protests. Demonstrations have been breaking out across the country against the capitalists' attempts to impose continuing austerity measures on the workers, and thousands have been arrested, including the leadership of the Perionist trade union movement. The junta sought a diversion from this rising threat of revolution.

When a group of scrap merchants raised the Argentine flag on South Georgia Island, to widespread popular acclaim, the junta further whipped up the outburst of national chauvinism and sent an army of conscript and untrained youth to occupy and finally to restore the Malvinas to Argentina.

The question of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas has been an increasingly pressing but fruitless matter of negotiations between the rulers of Britain and Argentina since the UN passed a resolution in 1960, and another in 1965 by a vote of 94-0 that the de-colonization of the islands be negotiated. And then again in 1973, by a vote of 116-0 ex-

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pressing "grave concern" that Britain had conceded nothing in the passing eight years and urging "accelerated negotiations."

With its economy in decline, along with the mounting costs of its commitments to the NATO military alliance, and faced with sharpening conflicts against the Thatcher government's program of cutbacks and massive unemployment, Britain has been preparing to rid itself of the Falklands, but with as little loss of face as possible. They have little intrinsic or strategic value. But with the Argentine occupation, the political rights of the occupants of this barren collection of rocks, half of them employed, most as contract labour, by the last surviving crown-chartered imperial firm of the Victorian era, and many of them denied British citizenship under a new Nationality Act, suddenly became a sacred cause for British Toryism.

To the junta's anti-imperialist cry for unity of the Malvinas with the rest of the nation that lies under its heel, Thatcher responded with the hypocritical cry for the defence of the right of self-determination of the inhabitants. The Thatcher government's astonishing mobilization of a gigantic and costly armed force for an operation 8,000 miles away at the bottom of the globe, took the junta by surprise.

And who won? For the junta it was a debacle. Instead of national glory —humiliation. If the soldiers thought

→to p.2

06-08-26

Falklands-Malvinas War — victims but no real solution

:hat the Malvinas should be Argen-ine they proved to have no stomach 'or the battle to win it — at least nder the officers of the junta, more han one of whom had been in com-nand of its kidnap, torture and mur-ler squads.

While Galtieri proclaimed that his government was prepared to sacri-ice not only those freezing in the ollows scraped out of the bog and ock, but tens of thousands more, nd the army's chaplain, along with God's blessing, urged them "stay at our posts and fight and die like the postles," when given the opportun-ty, the soldiers took the risk of throw-ng down their arms and surrender-ing. As the British forces moved in, with orders to kill if necessary, they were inundated by the flood of an estimated 10,600 prisoners, whose officers, the British command de-cided, should keep their pistols "for disciplinary purposes." Argentina suffered an estimated 775 dead or missing and thousands wounded. The colossal costs of the adventure in materiel and logistics will be im-posed on an already impoverished Argentine working class.

The British won the battle. Now Thatcher is glorying in the heady visions of an imagined restoration of Britain's former imperial grandeur. The political credibility of herself and her party has never appeared higher. The Social Democratic-Liber-al alliance which was cutting into Tory ranks, fell in behind her and is in decline. Even the Labour Party, at least that part that answers to the Foot leadership, also lined up be-hind her apparently triumphant leadership. While imposing cutbacks everywhere else she carried the day to underwrite and impose the costs of the fleet of 100 ships and the 8,500 expeditionary force on an increasing-ly overburdened working class. After ten weeks of hostilities the estimated costs for logistics and loss of ships and aircraft alone is $2 billion. The death toll is an estimated 240, with many more wounded.

And what about the nagging ques-tion of sovereignty of the Malvinas? It is farther from solution than ever before! Having sent Britons to fight and die for the islands, Thatcher is now caught with having to hold onto them, pending some distant solution as to how to get rid of them. The 40 Royal Marines heretofore on the islands, according to latest estimates will have to be replaced by a garrison of 3,000 men, with warships and Harrier jumperjets at a cost of $442 million a year, year after year, after year...

British ruling circles might have anticipated that the Falklands adven-ture's fuelling of British social patri-otism, at the very time of the new rise of the pan-European anti-nuclear forces, would have resulted in a serious setback of the British movement. But the London demon-stration was as big as last year's and compared to the confusions sur-rounding the nuclear question, opposition to a real war by their own ruling class found expression there. Furthermore, when it came to the crunch on the critical vote of confid-ence in the Thatcher government, called as the order to attack in the Falklands was being issued, the Labour Party Left did not capitulate to the Foot leadership's policy of abstention. Even as Foot fired three shadow cabinet ministers and accep-ted the resignation of another, it stood firm on its demand that the British forces be brought back, and registered 33 votes in opposition.

And as the costs continue to come in and payment is demanded, how will the British people come to understand this event, and evaluate those who are responsible for this war and those who stood up firmly in opposition to it? Already it is being recalled that Winston Churchill, another glorifier of imperialist war and British colonial tradition when at the very pinnacle of public acclaim, was cast out of office.

Thatcher's European NATO allies came to her side on the trade embar-go against Argentina, but at what cost to future relations? And if they take military commitments to the European theatre seriously, how do they evaluate Thatcher's sudden withdrawal of Britain's forces for the adventure in the South Atlantic, the heavy losses there, and now the new commitments there? The U.S. State Department was forced into gravely undermining its longtime patiently built-up network of relations through the Organization of American States and throughout Latin and South America and the Caribbean basin. And worst of all, Britain's victory against Argentina has perilously destabilized the junta, the very force that Thatcher and her allies depend upon to keep the lid on the boiling cauldron of social revolution there and throughout the continent.

The war over the Falklands-Malvinas, coming at the time of a new rise of the anti-war forces across the world, has revealed deep divisions, not only among the world powers, but on the Left. The British Labour Party leadership, along with the Broadbent leadership of the NDP here in Canada, are for the victory of the Thatcher government's British imperialist forces — which also have the support of the U.S. State Department. This position seeks justification in the argu-ments of Argentine aggression against present British control of the Falklands and the right of self-determination of its inhabitants.

The Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Coun-tries held in Havana on June 3 came out for the victory of the Argentine Junta whose spokesman Foreign Minister Nicamor Costa Mendez address it [see photo above with Fidel Castro]. This position has the support of the Kremlin, the Communist Party of Canada and others, and leans heavily on the anti-imperialism expressed by the fascist Argentine Junta.

The editors of Forward identify with a policy of defeatism or non-support of either side.

forward (48) Summer 1982

EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

Trudeau's trickery

06-08-3

At first glance, Prime Minister Trudeau's denunciation of the mid-June NATO summit meeting in Vaughan, Germany, as virtually useless is perplexing, even bizarre. His reference to the final communique as full of "cliches" and "weasel-words" and his suggestion that "I think the leader should be expected to do more than rubber stamp a final communique which has been cooked and pre-cooked" grabbed headlines around the world. He even went so far as to attack the Reagan government's policy towards the Soviet Union as reflecting an overly ideological approach and he criticized U.S. arms control strategy for tying arms reductions to political concessions from the Soviet Union.

The explanation for Trudeau's performance lies in the massive anti-war movement that has arisen dramatically throughout Europe and elsewhere mobilizing the largest demonstrations humanity has seen in many years. The three hundred thousand nuclear disarmament advocates who had camped across the Rhine from the Vaughan conference were visible evidence of the unsettling impact of this movement on domestic governments, especially because of the strong anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment permeating the movement. Other delegations, particularly the West German, were clearly uneasy with Reagan's attempt to peddle a 1950 style anti-communist cold war atmosphere coupled with a vision of a disintegrating Soviet empire — a campaign which these leaders know is out of touch with reality. The metamorphosis of Trudeau as a peace advocate was an attempt to gather credibility in order to caution the U.S. all the more to effectively defuse the anti-NATO character of the anti-war movement and its anti-imperialist direction.

This movement clearly confronted the world capitalist leaders at the NATO conference with an unavoidable challenge, one which if not met could make real the "risk of rot within the Atlantic alliance", to quote the candid thoughts of the editors of the **Globe and Mail**. Trudeau's concern for peace, however, is paper thin. While desirous of replacing the anti-NATO slogans of the anti-war movement with moral proclamations in favor of disarmament, the Canadian government under Trudeau's leadership has integrated Canada entirely into the U.S. dominated NATO/NORAD war machine, offered Alberta soil for the testing of the most advanced of all new weapons systems — the Cruise missile — and projected military expenditures that will continue to rise for years to come.

In contrast to President Reagan, Trudeau has shown deep insight if not downright enthusiasm for the **real politik** involved in peaceful co-existence. As foreshadowed in his earlier statements in support of military repression of the Solidarity movement in Poland months earlier, Trudeau strongly favors maintaining the "spheres of influence" approach to international politics; that is, maintaining the status quo at the expense of those who presently suffer under it in both the capitalist and post-capitalist states.

Confidence in the U.S. government was at a low point at the NATO conference. Only days earlier at the Versailles economic conference. the U.S. adopted an inflexible position on inflationary policy to the disapproval of the other delegations. In moving out forcefully as he did at the NATO conference, and in reinforcing his approach at the UN special session on disarmament a week later, Trudeau was merely reflecting the long-range needs of the world capitalist states.

Like Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson before him, who publicly interceded in the interest of world imperialism as a whole during the Suez crisis in 1956, in order to pull Britain and France back from their perilous policy against Egypt and the Middle East, Trudeau knows well how Canada can best serve the interests of the United States by adopting the carefully nurtured role of an advisory and apparently independent critic. It has therefore never been more important for the anti-war movement in Canada to expose Trudeau's hypocritical declaration by challenging him to take Canada out of NATO and NORAD, and to oppose testing of Cruise missiles in Canada.

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forward (48) Summer 1982

Law Union indicts Solicitor-General

06-08-4

Some 40 Toronto area lawyers have asked the Law Society of Upper Canada to investigate recent widely publicized statements of the Solicitor-General of Canada — Robert Kaplan. The petitioners express their deep concern that the country's chief law officer has not only condoned widespread illegal activities of the RCMP but has even gone so far as to counsel continued violations of the law. In their considered opinion, they say, the position that he has adopted "brings the administration of justice into disrepute." "The principle that the police forces are not above the law is fundamental to our judicial system — its violation can only lead to the exercise of arbitrary power."

They ask the Law Society, which governs Ontario's 16,300 lawyers, to investigate Kaplan for possible unprofessional conduct. A lawyer and an honorary bencher of the society, Kaplan can be disciplined by the society should it find that he has breached the rules of professional conduct. The petition was initiated by Michael Mandel, law professor at York University's Osgoode Hall Law School, and civil rights lawyer Harry Kopyto, and is supported by the Ontario section of the Law Union.

Kaplan's statements followed on the heels of the government's release last August of the report by the Royal Commission of Inquiry into RCMP illegalities headed by Judge McDonald. Simultaneously, with the release of this four-years-in-the-making $10 million dollar report, the government issued another report as an alternative legal opinion. It resurrected the 77 year-old retired Justice of the Supreme Court, Wishart Spence, to justify the RCMP's so-called "dirty tricks," designed to harass and if possible destroy a wide range of left wing organizations. The existence of this "Operation Checkmate" was admitted by the RCMP following a submission by Ross Dowson, the leader of the now defunct League for Socialist Action (LSO), to the Krever Commission. Spence defended such operations with the statement "I regard trickery as an ordinary part of police procedure and an inevitable part."

In one of his statements advocating that the police should be able to open mail and enter private dwellings without a search warrant Kaplan urged that the moratorium on writs of assistance, imposed in 1976 which has resulted in the number in use dropping to 72, be lifted. Issued on a lifetime basis the writs grant possessing officers sweeping powers of search and seizure without a warrant. His call for the lifting of the moratorium roused strong protest in the House of Commons from both NDP justice critic Svend Robinson and Conservative justice critic Ray Hnatyshyn.

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DOWSON v. RCMP

"though this book should be read with considerable disquiet, it is important that it be read" — from foreword by Clayton Ruby

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forward (48) Summer 1982

06-08-5

Labour mobilizes its power

by Paul Kane

The cost of living continues to rise. The latest blows are the higher prices for imports due to the fall in value of the Canadian dollar. Unemployment continues to mount. Thousands of youth, many of them highly trained for skilled work are unable to obtain jobs of any kind. Younger people, and particularly women, those who have managed to get into the work force, lacking experience and seniority, are the first to be shown the door. Older workers with few resources are being driven to retire. Having exhausted their unemployment credits, record numbers are having to go on welfare.

The working class are the victims on every front of the crisis engendered by the capitalist system. Production for profit not human use — with its anarchy, waste and inefficiency, the so-called free enterprise system, doesn't work. But it is not enough that the workers, the sole source of its profits, are its victims. We are witness to a massive campaign by the spokespersons of the political parties which defend the system, and the mass media they control, to blame its victims as actually being the cause of its crimes.

Congratulations

Vice-president Parrot

"...May be back to class struggle..."

CLC President McDermott

The struggle of working people to resist by fighting and winning wage increases to match the cost of living is being blamed, as not only fuelling the inflation, but to be the actual cause of inflation. And even more, there is a massive assault on the trade union movement, that has been organized to defend the workers, to transform it into an instrument to coerce its members into giving up, into handing back to the bosses wages and conditions that were won at great effort over decades of struggles.

With its back to the wall, its membership declining, the trade union movement is preparing to mobilize its strength. The recent convention of the over two million strong Canadian Labour Congress has been compelled by the facts of life to adopt a class struggle stance. The leadership have pledged to mobilize its forces to fight back against any attempt by the government to impose a wage freeze by organizing a general strike. It has also pledged to read out of its ranks any affiliate that knuckles under pressure to accept roll-backs or give-aways to the bosses. And to stiffen that resolve the assembled delegates, over a third of whom had never been to a congress before, for the first time in decades, broke the leadership's executive slate to win a seat for CUPW leader Jean-Claude Parrot. Symbolically the congress decided to open all coming assemblies with the singing of the battle cry — Solidarity Forever — for the unity of its forces is labor's only real strength.

And now the battle is being joined. The Canadian autoworkers who have led the way for the entire North American labor movement to rejection of rollbacks, are feeling the heat. According to Canadian director Robert White at least two Canadian locals have knuckled under. The Rockwell International bosses enveigled their Chatham, Ont., employees into dropping their cost-of-living increases for a profit sharing plan, which White denounced as a sham. The 315 delegated Canadian Council voted unanimously to place a special levy on each of its 120,000 members to help strikers such as those at the Toronto CCM plant, locked out when they refused to accept a rollback.

The showdown with the BC government's Employees Union is approaching with the expiration of its master agreement. And the Quebec trade union movement is re-establishing its common front to resist the Quebeç Parti Quebecois government's attempt to snatch back what it had already conceded to its civil servants.

Only in labor's fighting unity lies its strength.

Forward (48) Summer 1982

06-08-6

Dowson suit gainst RCMP goes to UN court for judgment

Having tried to open every door in the Canadian justice system, and seeing them all slammed shut in his face, Ross Dowson has finally submitted all relevant information on his slander suit against the RCMP to the United Nations in Geneva for judgement. Dowson commenced his $500,000 suit in December 1977 as the revelations of RCMP illegalities were piling up one on top of the other and the Ontario attorney-general read into the record of the Ontario parliament a statement prepared by top RCMP officials that labelled the League for Socialist Action and its leadership as "subversives" — advocates of social change by violent and undemocratic means. Dowson was the LSA-LSO executive secretary and then chairperson.

The Federal Court of Canada ruled that the RCMP statement was a privileged statement and thereby immune from suit. On September of last year the Supreme Court of Canada refused Dowson leave to appeal. And finally the office of the Privy Council shut off any further recourse within Canada.

The Trudeau government declared Canada's adherence to the UN Covenant on Human Rights in 1976 and its protocols covering political and civil rights. Dowson alleges that Ottawa has violated the articles forbidding attacks on the reputation of individuals as well as the guarantees for individuals to express political dissent.

According to the provisions of the Protocols, a five-member group which includes Walter Tarnopolski, former head of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association and a professor at the University of Ottawa, will have five months to process Dowson's application. Ottawa will then have six months to respond to the UN body's finding, following which the Human Rights Committee will make its decision on the case.

The RCMP statement labelling Dowson and associates as "subversives" along with unnamed "ex-communists" was in response to a query by the Ontario leader of the NDP as to whether the RCMP had a presence in the NDP. While affirming that it did have a presence in the NDP, the RCMP claimed that it was not concerned with the NDP as such, but merely in its left-wing Waffle, and that it was not interested in the Waffle as such but in the so-called "subversives", who on invitation of the Waffle, are depicted as having "infiltrated" the NDP. However, the McDonald Report handed down last summer affirmed that the RCMP did have an interest in the Waffle as such, because of its "extreme left posture". It was such an obsessive one that at one point it had to instruct its agents to be more restrictive in reporting their spying on a completely legitimate formation in the completely legitimate party of the Canadian trade union movement.

Typeset by Union Labor

Sues RCMP officers in Ont. small claims court

Sometime this fall the first civil trial arising out of the RCMP's campaign of terror against a wide range of individuals, groups and political parties, under the code name Operation Checkmate, will take place in the Toronto Small Claims Court.

Ross Dowson has launched the action against two RCMP officers, former Assistant-Commissioner Stanley Chisholm and Superintendent Ronald Yaworski, on his own behalf and all former members of the now defunct League for Socialist Action. He is taking it to Small Claims Court in order to ensure that a speedy trial will take place and is seeking $3,000, the maximum allowed, in damages.

The claim alleges that the two RCMP officers conspired to commit criminal acts of forgery, uttering and transmitting false messages for the purpose of disrupting the political activities of the League. The existence of Operation Checkmate surfaced when top RCMP officers confessed before the Krever Commission, on the basis of evidence submitted by Dowson, to having forged and circulated letters at a youth con-

continued overleaf

small claims

from overleaf

vention of the organization. This incident appeared subsequently as Case 13 of 14 cases outlined in some 750 pages released by the McDonald Commission in late April 1980.

Early in 1980 on four different occasions Dowson's lawyer Harry Kopyto attempted to lay criminal charges against the two ex-RCMP officers only to be blocked on October 30 by Attorney-General Roy McMurtry's entering a stay of proceedings, thereby depriving private citizens of the right to lay charges. This case has the support of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, and along with a parallel one entered by Howard Buchbinder of the defunct Praxis Insititute is scheduled to be heard this coming fall.

forward (48) Summer 1982 06-08-7

Site of RCMP Operation Ham theft of Parti Quebecois membership list.

Smear of Parti Québécois leads to mistrial declaration

The only criminal suit against the RCMP to go to trial so far was declared a mistrial on May 6. A date for a new trial will not be set until a court hearing slated for early this fall.

Quebec's attorney-general laid charges against 17 top RCMP officials following the Keable Commission's investigation of the revelations of the federal police's massive political terror against the trade union movement, Marxist groups, separatists and, in particular, the independentist Parti Québécois. After frantically trying to block the whole process Ottawa finally agreed to proceed with a test case against RCMP Inspector Claude Vermette, one of the ten RCMP top officers in charge of the infamous 1973 illegal break-in and entry of a computer office and the theft of the Parti Québécois membership list.

But the Montreal court session no sooner got underway in late April when it became apparent that every possible effort was being made to turn it into a grandstand show to smear the Parti Quebecois and to frustrate the conduct of the trial at every turn. Solicitor General Robert Kaplan quickly brought into play the notorious Section 41(2) of the Federal Court Act when "in the interests

continued overleaf

Smear Parti Québecois

from overleaf

of national security" he disallowed 33 secret documents as evidence, thus laying in advance the grounds for the RCMP to seek a not-guilty verdict on the grounds of being denied evidence essential to their defence.

The court room echoed with sensational testimony from one RCMP witness after another about: vast sums of money coming from "friendly" and "unfriendly" foreign nations to the PQ's and associates' treasuries, a considerable spy network headed by top PQ leaders directed against the federal government and its Quebec supporters, plots to blow up the Hull-Quebec bridge, and the procuring of prostitutes and targetting them on top federal officials to obtain state secrets, etc., etc. When Quebec Liberal Party leader Claude Ryan provocatively challenged Levesque to deny or affirm the allegations, the latter's few words of protest against the RCMP smearing its victims were used to declare a mistrial.

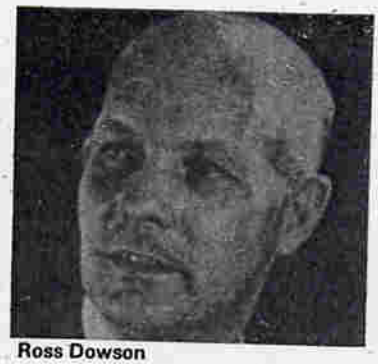
None of the RCMP defendants denied their involvement in the Operation Ham break-in and theft of the PQ membership list. They presented it as a more or less routine matter, one of a great many more illegalities committed uner the sobriquets Operation Puma and Panther. Robert Potvin, who had been second in command of the RCMP's anti-separatist G. Section, testified that Operation Ham was no different from other Pumas that "had been conducted in the 18 years I was with the security service," and in the course of following orders from senior public servants, including the solicitor general. He testified that correspondence with the solicitor general's office about his obtaining a list of PQers working for the federal government, and his reply, were missing from the files during his recent investigations.

RCMP Inspector Kenneth Hollas, responsible for the RCMP's Security E Special Section, testified that he had "become aware of this technique in 1959 and I understand that it had been in use for a long time before that." He testified to involvement in surreptitious entries into the offices of several political parties to gain information and in particular membership and contact lists. After mentioning the Communist Party's offices he stated that he couldn't remember the names of the others

The RCMP stole the PQ membership lists, according to Inspector Hallas, because it wanted to see if any of the individuals were "Communists or Trotskyists or — I can't think of anything else." Officer Potvin claimed the Force hoped to trace the recipient of $350,000 from a friendly government, donated to the PQ through two businesses operating in the province. He added that Prime Minister Trudeau's office "very strongly suggested that we verify this information." Potvin also testified that another agent from the same country had passed along $2 million to a person who would seek leadership of another party and then attempt to unite it with the PQ. Unfriendly countries were said to also be involved in these plots — one with the objective of separating Quebec from Canada — to gain a territory from which "they could mount operations in North America."

Forward (48) Summer 1982

Suit against RCMP needs your support



Ross Dowson

06-18-8

Early this year four Quebec Liberal MPs appealed to the Quebec Superior Court that a poster denouncing them as traitors was an incitement to violence and a stain on their reputation. They sought to have its printing and distribution stopped. The material had appeared in **Le Devoir** as a full page ad paid for by the St. Jean Baptiste Society. It listed all the Quebec MPs who supported Ottawa's constitutional position which deprived Quebec of its historic veto.

Le Devoir published a front page apology.

The RCMP declared Ross Dowson a subversive. But they didn't stop there — with words. Funded by the federal government out of the public treasury, the RCMP launched a massive and vicious campaign of harassment aginst him and associates in an organization completely supportive of the NDP and against thousands of others of social and political dissident opinion under a secret "thought control" assault called Operation Checkmate. This campaign cost many workers their jobs. On hearing an RCMP officer's testimony detailing one "dirty trick" against a foreign-born worker, Judge McDonald exclaimed that the RCMP had "exiled" him from the country.

When Dowson sought to sue the RCMP for slander the courts ruled that the statement made by a police officer was a privileged one and not subject to suit. Dowson's lawyers took the suit right up to the Supreme Court of Canada which dismissed it, along with relevant appeals from the governments of Alberta, Ontario and Quebec, thus blocking all civil suits against the RCMP.

The Socialist Rights Defence Fund has been set up to win support and raise funds to cover the basic costs of Dowson's efforts to obtain justice. It has won the support of CLC affiliated labor councils from coast to coast, NDP constituency associations, professors, teachers, writers, civil libertarians, workers both skilled and unskilled, men and women from almost every walk of life.

Every cent, along with several loans that have been taken out, has been spent on basic court costs — the lawyers who have given advice along with those who have prepared the necessary papers and argued in court provided their services absolutely free. In the course of the suit Dowson was twice penalized with costs to the total of almost $1,500. Actions in the name of Her Majesty the Queen are now underway to seize the few goods and chattels that Dowson has accumulated while committing almost 50 years of his life to activity in the labor and socialist movement.

The SRDF needs funds to meet these costs.

Besides, the Dowson suit is very much alive in the criminal courts where it shares space with the Quebec government's suit against the RCMP that has just suffered a mistrial and with Howard Buchbinder of the defunct Praxis Institute, who with Dowson is contesting Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry's issuance of a stay of proceedings blocking a citizen from initiating criminal prosecution.

Support the Socialist Rights Defence Fund now! Add your name to the continually growing list of supporters! And send whatever financial aid you are able to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5.

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06-08-9a

Critique of book on socialist history

The Early Years of the Communist Party of Canada, by Ian Angus, distributed by Pathfinder Press, Montreal, Quebec. Paperback $10.00.

by Ross Dowson

The Communist Party of Canada is now conceived by most radicals and union militants as a mouthpiece of the bureaucratic caste that dominates the USSR. New layers of militants confronted with the right wing policies of the New Democratic Party leadership, and who are looking for an alternative to the difficult task of developing a new leadership within the mass movements of the working class, have learned this basic fact of political life easier than the generations that preceded them.

Today it is the rise of the people of Poland, united in a struggle for socialist democracy under the banner of Solidarnosc that is providing the acid test.

The CP of Canada gives its unabashed support to the military dictatorship imposed on the Polish struggle with the aid of the Kremlin bureaucracy. It was the Polish October of 1956, which followed on the 20th Congress CPSU revelations of the crimes of Stalin, that provoked the second major crisis of the Canadian CP. It witnessed the defection of almost the entire leadership that had been accumulated to that time, including among others J.B. Salsberg, the party's longstanding national trade union director.

In a burst of independence it had cabled a plea for a policy of non-intervention by the CPSU in the affairs of the Polish Workers Party. With the formation of two tendencies the Salsberg faction declared that "there are two lines and two policies before the party (which) cannot be reconciled. Because the question of an independent Canadian Marxist-Leninist party versus one that is subservient to the CPSU is one of principle."

With the publication of this book, titled **Canadian Bolsheviks** by Ian Angus, regardless of its shortcomings, new and valuable information is now available on the history of the first and formative years of the Communist Party. It was the struggle against the Stalinization of its pioneer forces, related in these pages, that saw its decisive transformation from a building force into its opposite, a devourer and destroyer of revolutionary cadre.

Part I of Angus' three-part book presents what it would seem only proper to have headlined with the word Revolution. It outlines a revolution which would appear to have developed across Canada but was inexplicably overlooked, not only by the leading socialist militants of the day but by all subsequent commentators on the period — until discovered by Angus.

It is generally agreed that the Communist Party was launched in 1921. But Angus in the course of his painstaking research came across what he proclaims to be an earlier -- **The First Communist Party.** It turns out to be substantially the Socialist Party of North America which he notes "never had more than 100 members organized in three or four locals in Southern Ontario." Elsewhere he even speculates "as to whether the SPNA as a whole participated in the creation of the new party or whether its forces divided." He notes that "neither the CP's own historians, nor the major academic studies of the party mention it at all."

But it seems clear that the exciting tale that Angus pulls together from capitalist "newspaper reports and other fragmentary sources" is about one of what must have been many somewhat similar responses across the country to the inspiration of the Russian Revolution, elemental and of a generally immature, ultra-leftist character, with little if any influence on subsequent developments. That is why the 1921 events which coalesced key elements from the main socialist groupings across the country can alone be correctly called the foundation or formation of the Communist Party. One would think that the author of what appears, not as an agitational tract but as a serious work of historical analysis and who professes to be a Marxist, would himself be puzzled as to why such contemporary socialist leaders as Spector and MacDonald gave no weight to what he baptizes the First Communist Party.

But as we continue to read Part I we find this highly speculative episode is but a piece of a whole — a sort of prelude to how Angus evaluates the Labour Revolt of 1919 — the Western Labour Conference and the great Winnipeg General Strike — and then the next period, which he labels **Counterrevolution.**

What was the overall significance of the period in which the Winnipeg General Strike was the centrepiece? "Historians may argue whether a socialist revolution was possible in Canada in 1919," but historian Angus, having posed the question, backs off with the words, "there is no doubt that this was the greatest social crisis Canada has yet seen."

There have been innumerable books, pamphlets and esays on the Winnipeg General Strike written from every viewpoint on the political spectrum. While it was a general strike for very modest demands, it has a cherished place in the annals of Canadian labour, and particularly for socialists, because certain aspects which appeared in very nascent forms prefigure their concepts of the struggle for and the development of a new egalitarian social order. But no analysis that this writer is acquainted with, other than those of the Right, upon which Angus strangely falls back on, project his view that it was a revolution — that failed.

Angus quotes the charge by the Winnipeg business community, which organized the Citizen's Committee to mobilize intervention and strikebreaking by the Right, that: "This is not a strike at all, in the ordinary sense of the term — it is Revolution. It is a serious attempt to overturn British institutions in this Western Country and to supplant them with the Russian Bolshevik system of Soviet Rule."

Angus raps the knuckles of the editorial writers and speechmakers of the Liberal and Conservative politicians, but not for what one would expect: "The spokesmen of the ruling class deliberately overstated the amount of conscious planning involved in the supposed Bolshevik plot." But certainly Angus can't be charged with doing so. He castigates the Socialist Party, whose forces were quite small in Winnipeg and according to historian Martin Robin "were barely

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represented" on any of the bodies at the head of the struggles, "with total lack of anything even resembling a revolutionary strategy... in this situation the SPCers could only support the Christian radicals who urged the workers to remain passive. There was no serious effort to coordinate in the various cities," he charges, "no effort to involve the strikers in decision making on a regular basis, no effort to extend the Strike Committee's authority. Above all there was no preparation for the clash with the state that would inevitably come."

If "the spokesmen of the ruling class deliberately overstated the amount of conscious planning", nonetheless, he continues, "their statements show a clear understanding of the dynamics of the crisis." In summing up the chapter Angus states "the labour revolt of 1919 showed the possibility of a transition to socialism that would result from a revolutionary crisis in which the working class would suddenly rebel against the established order. Such a rebellion actually occurred in a chaotic and unconscious fashion, in 1919."

After this exaggerated, even false picture of the dynamics of the immediate post World War I situation in Canada, it becomes clear how Angus can open the next period with the heading "Counterrevolution", buttressed with what he considers to be a relevant quote from a 1935 writing by Trotsky. It reads: "Who ever understands history even slightly knows that every revolution has provoked a subsequent counter-revolution..."

But here too reality was somewhat different — as different from a counterrevolution as the events dealt with in the previous chapter differ from a revolution. Canada entered what has been called "the roaring twenties," the post war capitalist upturn, an expansion built on the forced industrialization of the war years and the rehabilitation of war-torn Europe — prosperity.

Angus quotes American socialist James P. Cannon's description of its impact on the U.S. Communists: "The prosperity sapped the confidence of the cadres in the revolutionary future. Prosecution inflicted wounds upon the party, but the drawn-out prosperity of the Twenties killed the soul." Angus stresses the demoralization of the Canadian party cadre by stating, without providing any source to back it up "that the [Canadian] party had been founded in the conviction that a mass revolutionary party could be built quickly, that proletarian revolution was on the order of the day." Yet, earlier he had occasion to note how the leaders of the Third International, including Lenin and Trotsky, saw the task of the American communists in their **Thesis on Tactics** in June-July 1921. While they addressed themselves to the situation in the U.S., it is clear they would have included Canada also where "the communists are still only on the threshold of the first stage of forming a Communist nucleus and establishing contact with the working masses."

Thus we see Angus' failure to even outline the concrete conditions that confronted the nascent Communist forces leads him to present a romantic, prone to ultra-left view of the post World War I period in Canada.

The central theme of Angus' book is that the CP, within 10 years of its founding, degenerated. It became Stalinized. From a cadre gathering formation with the aim of making a vital contribution to the struggle to establish socialism in Canada, it was transformed into a political apologist or borderguard of the Soviet bureaucracy. It became a reformist movement of a new type.

The youthful Communist Party found within its own ranks and in its most able ideologue, the editor of both its paper and theoretical journal, Maurice Spector, together with its most popular and talented mass working class leader, Jack MacDonald, the forces to initiate the fight against its Stalinism degeneration. The fact that Spector and MacDonald, unbroken by Tim Buck and Company's campaign to drive them from the working class movement in an unprecedented campaign of lies and slanders, launched the Trotskyist movement as the early CP's direct continuator, cannot but be a source of great satisfaction to all genuine Marxists.

Buck claimed in one of his reminiscenses that until he had succeeded in expelling Spector and MacDonald and carrying out the Bolshevization (in reality the Stalinization) of the party, it had in its early and formative years been Trotskyist.

Quite the contrary, declares Angus. "Tempting as such a view of Spector and the Canadian party may be to supporters and opponents of Trotsky alike it has no foundation in fact." Spector, as editor of the **Worker**, he writes, failed to advance the positions of Trotsky and his Left Opposition. Nor did Spector or MacDonald, perhaps fearful of being brutally cut out of the party, merely evade the issues by perfunctory publication of reports of Comintern statements without comment, possibly stalling for more favorable times. "Under the leadership of Spector and MacDonald the Communist Party accepted and endorsed almost every important shift in Comintern policy following Lenin's final stroke." What's more, Angus writes, the party under their leadership "did not stop with the support of the Communist international's line on international issues."

On top of that, Angus disapproves of historian William Rodney in **Soldiers of the International** (U of T., 1968) for stating that Spector in his analysis of the catastrophic defeat suffered by the German Communist Party in 1923, "became one of the Western Hemisphere's first Trotskyites." "It is going too far to say" that, according to Angus. Theodore Draper in **American Communism and Soviet Russia** (Macmillan, 1960), however, goes even further. "In the entire Western hemisphere there was at this time (in the early twenties-RD) only one real Trotskyist — Maurice Spector..." And James P. Cannon, to whom some would give this place, himself defers to Spector. Spector later joined Cannon on the leading body of the U.S. Trotskyist movement in 1933 and immigrated to the U.S. in 1936 to become an editor of its theoretical journal until 1939 when he dropped away. Cannon recalls that Spector's "open manifestation of sympathy for Trotsky... ante-dated mine by three years."

Spector and his new-found ally Cannon brought back from the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern Trotsky's **Draft Program of the CI: a criticism of fundamentals**. It laid bare the source of the crisis in the CI and what was happening to Lenin's party. Its cadre decimated and exhausted, was overwhelmed by a flood of careerists and opportunists who least of all wanted revolutionary forces looking to the Russian Revolutions as the prototype through which they would realize their own hopes and aspirations; most of all they wanted peace, and forces abroad which they could hope would serve to neutralize world reaction threatening Soviet borders. This document revealed the unbridgeable gap between the conservative, counterrevolutionary national bureaucrats and the internationalist revolutionary tendencies in world communism.

What truth is there in Angus' claim that the newly formed Communist Party under Spector and MacDonald's leadership, not only "accepted and endorsed almost every important shift in Comintern policy following Lenin's final stroke" but "also conscientiously applied that line to Canadian conditions: every shift in CI policy had its Canadian expression"? In other words contrary to Buck's contention that in the formative years of 1923-29 the CPC was unconsciously Trotskyist, according to Angus, it was Stalinist from the beginning. It had no heroic days.

Whatever his reasons may be, Angus stakes out this claim in Chapter 9 — The Communist Party in Transition, 1923-29 — where he fits the Canadian party onto a procrustean bed fabricated out of Comintern policies of the early Twenties, then only beginning to escalate into the even more horrendous expressions they took on into the Thirties and on into today.

This chapter is an elaborately contrived, contorted and completely false construction. The bed to be fitted to is formed by policies serving a conservative bureaucracy which besides attempting at any cost to preserve its own privileged positions seeks to justify to its defenders as norms of the new society, its elimination of the democracy of the Soviet councils and its establishment of one party rule. The body Angus attempts to fit onto this bed is the democratic, self-confident but inexperienced revolutionary cadre seeking to root itself in the Canadian working class and forge a leadership to give direction to the struggle for socialist democracy.

Here Angus parallels, if not equates, what was a modification of the Canadian party's position on the building of the Canadian Labour

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Party to the Comintern's turn to the peasantry for support. He parallels the Canadian party's shift to a conciliatory policy to A.R. Mosher and the All Canadian Congress of Labour which would shortly form a base for the CIO, to the Comintern's policy on the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee which served to cover up the treachery of the British trade union leadership during the 1926 General Strike. He ties the Comintern's China policy of subservience to the nationalist liberal-bourgeois Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek to some views expressed in a debate during the Canadian party's first attempts to grapple with the *nature of Canada's political economy.*

In reality the latter would appear to be the first substantial theoretical discussion in the party, one which went through several stages before it was terminated by the capitulation of the 1931 plenum to a Comintern directive that Canada has a developed capitalist economy of a classic mould, an independent capitalist class, and is an imperialist power in its own right. Angus notes historian Norman Penner's comment in **The Canadian Left** that an early Buck contribution was "written outside the usual Communist frame of reference." He also quotes, in part, Spector's last and only rounded contribution on this question appearing in the Jan.-Feb. 1928 issue of the party's theoretical organ.

Spector gives nothing to any concept of collaboration with the Canadian capitalist class but, to obtain a real independence of Canada, calls for the struggle to be directed against the capitalist government of this country and for the establishment of a workers and farmers republic allied with the workers of the U.S. and Great Britain. However, Angus breaks off his quotation from this article, and thereby neglects to inform us, as did Penner's reference, that Spector founded his position on a serious re-examination of Lenin's **Imperialism**. He was convinced that Canada was one of those transitional forms of dependency "which are politically independent in form but are surrounded in reality with a fine network of financial and diplomatic bonds."

From an historical point of view, probably the most worthwhile contribution Angus makes is concentrated in the book's last five or six chapters. Here Angus presents the fruit of an extremely patient and detailed examination of CP archives which were seized by the RCMP during Section 98 days, held illegally for years, and only recently turned over to the Ontario Public Archives. For all his ingenuity in piecing this material together from 50-year-old documents, it appears that Angus did not find a person who lived through this experience and who was able to fill it out such as U.S. historian Draper found in James P. Cannon. Thus there are statements and observations made, several without reference to source or authority, that seem to be scarcely credible.

For instance, are Angus' statements believable that the party's most experienced and sophisticated trade unionist, Jack MacDonald "had welcomed the Third Period" (a period that Angus properly calls one of 'suicidal ultra-leftism') "as a correction to the Comintern's rightward course in 1925-28"?

On the basis of what has been heretofore available and the facts he presents in this book, there seem to be no substantial grounds for Angus' petulant and sweeping criticisms of the CP's 1931 efforts to defend itself from government prosecution of its leadership under the witchhunt Section 98 of the Criminal Code.

Angus gives us little substantial insight into the relationship between the two founding leaders of the CP, both widely experienced, and though separated 10 years in age, both at the height of their powers. But certainly Spector's criticism of MacDonald in his report to his U.S. cothinkers, following the tremendous disappointment of his expulsion and its aftermath, which Angus reproduces without comment, would not and could not be Spector's serious judgement. Angus takes it upon himself to make the unqualified statement that: "Late in 1927 or early in 1928 Spector came to the conclusion that the CPC's political difficulties were MacDonald's fault." If there is one thing certain, it is that Spector clearly understood where the real difficulties lay — in the Stalinization of the party, whose chief agent was Tim Buck.

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Oh Canada

While we were regaled during the constitution patriation celebrations with many of the words of Sir John A., Canada's first prime minister, there were a few we didn't happen to come across. For instance, in explaining why a propertied, elitist and appointed-for-life Senate was needed alongside the elective Commons, he said the rights of the minority have to be protected — and the rich are always in a minority.

Could it be that the corporate interests in control, after all their successes, still fear that the working people might manage to work their way through the labyrinth erected in the path of their winning a parliamentary majority or in some other way come to political power in their own right? At any rate, here we are 115 years later and the Senate still remains firmly implanted, and, as if to prove that it has some value over and above its assigned role of standing on guard in defence of the minority, it has, unnoticed by you and me, been hard at work.

For seven years now, its committee on foreign affairs has been working on a study of Canadian-U.S. trade relations. In the midst of all the celebrations last month in which it played an important part, it released the concluding volume of this study.

If there is one known fact about MacDonald, his party and his government that is beyond challenge, it was their concern about overcoming the powerful pressures on British North America to become absorbed into the United States of America — hence Confederation. That is what makes it all the more startling, if you have been out of touch, to read that the central thrust of the Senate report is — Canada should enter into a free-trade arrangement with the United States.

The report dumps on several of the Trudeau govenment's programs, apparently designed to encourage Canadian capitalist ownership of the U.S.-owned petroleum industry here, and to discourage U.S. investment by putting it through the very open mesh of the FIRA screening process.

Not only have these policies failed to achieve a restructuring of industry reads the report, "but they are also causing Canada to become a target for the U.S. administration, for Congress, and for an influential segment of the private business sector."

For those who would protest "rape", the august Senators suggest relaxation. "The Canadian economy could end up in a very much worse situation that would have occurred without some of these government industrial measures." Their report ridicules what is called "the popular myth" that free trade will destroy Canadian autonomy with the telling argument that Canada has very little economic independence as it is.

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The chartering of foreign bank operations brought little in the way of what was alleged to be its purpose — new competition to the Canadian banking system, because, as the president of the Canadian Bankers Association says, foreign banks were already into commercial lending here in "a big way". But it appears to have increased capital fluidity.

Possibly this will give those who visualize Canada as an imperialist power rather than a U.S. dependency, a vicarious thrill but we have to note that what is sometimes labelled direct Canadian investment abroad has now "reached tidal wave proportions". But in reality this is a flight of capital from Canada of a "size not previously witnessed", according to Toronto economist Nuala Beck. There was a major outflow of $5.3 billion in foreign investment in Canada in 1981. Combined with the increase of direct Canadian investment abroad, it produced a net direct investment drain of $10.2 billion last year.

Ottawa's lockstepping the interest rate here to that in the U.S. is an attempt to staunch that flow. And now as investments become more risky and bank interest more attractive for the first time the Canadian government had decided to no longer inform the U.S. Internal Revenue Service how much U.S. depositors of U.S. funds in Canadian banks, not subject to Canadian tax, accumulate in interest. The Royal Bank reported that it had $38 billion of foreign money, the bulk of it U.S. funds, on deposit last year.

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The Big Five banks, long thought by nationalists, and some who even call themselves internationalists, to buttress indigenous Canadian capitalist class control of the Canadian economy, proved in the sixties and seventies to actually be one of the chief instruments of the U.S. corporate elite's takeover of the country's most profitable and strategic sectors.

Now 47 foreign banks have been granted Canadian charters and there are more in the works. Under the old rules it actually turned out that the unchartered foreign bank operations had considerable advantages — among them they could quote lower rates because they were not subject to reserve requirements, etc. It was the Big Five themselves who forced through regulations breaking their own monopoly — in order to gain reciprocal privileges in other countries.

According to Chairman Mulholland, the Bank of Montreal "is no longer a Canadian bank with Canadian appendages, it's an international bank that happens to be based in Canada." "Today," he said in a recent interview, "our national borders are no longer barriers to the movement of technology, information and capital. Markets transcend geography. The evolving development of our organization reflects the reality of an inter-related, interdependent marketplace."

On the other hand Massey-Ferguson Ltd., which in the past preferred to stress its status as a global company, departs from this tradition. Up to their elbows in the public trough and with an eye for more this year, their officers told the shareholders' annual meeting that Massey-Ferguson is a "Canadian-based multinational."

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Cross country with the NDP

Ont. Left Caucus evaluation

Last month's well-attended and highly spirited meeting of the Toronto area supporters of the NDP Left Caucus discussed the Ontario convention. It was generally agreed that the leadership contest once again did much to de-politicize the convention. But cutting across that was the strong left stance that leadership candidate Richard Johnston took on public ownership and other issues.

The caucus was pleased with its intervention in the Auto Task Force resolution and the support its critique won — and also with its intervention in support of the industrial democracy resolution. Left caucus speakers took on the opposition headed by Ontario Federation of Labour leader Cliff Pilkey and succeeded in winning a clear majority in support of it. The interest in the struggle of Poland's Solidarity no doubt aided this process.

It was noted that the high-powered drive to present Bob Rae as a winner brought several hundreds of new and youthful persons to the convention and into the orbit of the riding associations. Thus despite its continued rightward course and the demoralization of its established base, the party continues to be an attractive force for new elements.

The left caucus meeting added personnel to its steering committee, decided to publish an incisive statement of purpose for wide circulation, and to project a series of public educational forums to overcome the low political level of the ridings and make the case for a fighting socialist NDP.

Battle of bells

The Tories' 15-day protest boycott of the Commons this spring, the so-called "battle of the bells" was cynically compared by PM Trudeau to actions taken by Franco in Spain, "and in Italy at the time of the Fascists. The way in which democracy was destroyed was by closing down parliament."

But that is not how the people of Canada saw it, disturbed by the government's omnibus coverup of their energy policies and increasingly fed up by its inaction on inflation and jobs. Tory popularity surged upward, the Liberals plunged, and the NDP levelled off, according to the Gallup Poll. A Southam News opinion sample affirmed that a solid majority felt the Tories were doing the right thing by paralyzing parliament.

The NDP members sided right up to the Liberals in full-blooded defence of parliament as a sacrosanct institution, and of the very parliamentary decorum that the Liberals have so long been arrogantly violating.

Recently elected NDP MP Dan Heap, who sometimes identifies himself with extra-parliamentary opposition, in a letter to his constituents, indignantly charged the Tories with refusing to let Parliament do its duty and with depriving the electorate of full value for the wages they pay him. But then the message from the party's ranks began to get through. Right-wing Brantford NDP MP Blackburn came out in complete support of the Tory boycott. "If the bells have to ring for six months," he said, "I believe they should.

Metro NDPers protest

When the Saskatchewan legislature passed the back-to-work order to smash the two-week-long strike by CUPE hospital support workers, according to a March 27 UPC report from Regina, one of the 44 NDP members cast his vote in opposition. The only honorable member of the house to oppose it was John Skoberg (Moose Jaw North).

Toronto NDP activists made known their opposition to the strike-breaking legislation before the Saskatchewan electorate cast their ballots. The Metro Toronto Area Council held its annual convention on April 3 — some three weeks earlier. It was the most representative of NDP activists in the Toronto area yet. Some 175 were in attendance and they unanimously adopted the following resolution from Ward 6 NDP:

"Be it resolved that the Metro NDP call upon the Federal Executive to clearly dissociate our party from the Saskatchewan parliamentary caucus' passage through the Saskatchewan house of a vicious anti-labour strike-breaking act against the Saskatchewan hospital workers and that we call upon the Saskatchewan party executive to immediately and publicly dissociate itself from the Saskatchewan parliamentary caucus' action.

"And be it further resolved that Metro NDP make known this position at once so that there is no mistaking the official position of our party during the current election campaign in Saskatchewan."

The May 19 **Commonwealth**, published by the Saskatchewan section of the NDP, published this resolution in its letters to the editor column without comment, and apparently without response from the Saskatchewan party leadership or the party's federal executive.